

MARCH 13, 1978

\$1.00

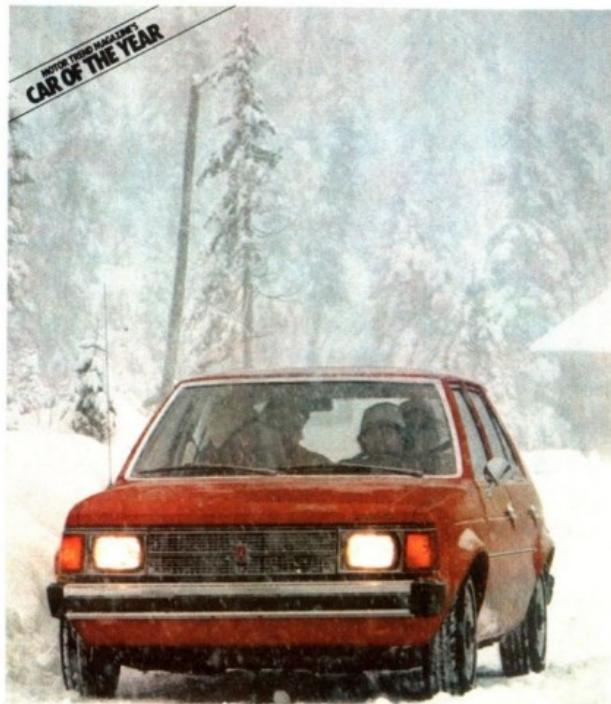
# TIME

## A Special Report

The Miners  
Decide



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AS SHOWN

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## A Letter from the Publisher

**S**ocialism in its various manifestations is now the world's dominant political and economic ideology," says World Editor John Elson, who edited this week's eleven-page report on the proliferation of the left. To back up his statement, Elson had at hand some formidable evidence: a foot-high pile of reports filed by 24 TIME correspondents around the world who assessed the consequences of the global revolution.

For many of our correspondents, working on this report was the culmination of a deep, ongoing interest in socialism. Eastern Europe Bureau Chief David Aikman, for example, concentrated on modern Russian and Chinese history while a doctoral student at the University of Washington. As our Hong Kong correspondent, he covered the People's Republic of China. Traveling in Eastern Europe for this week's story, Aikman talked with a variety of individuals, from tractor drivers on collective farms to bank managers, and found that "few people had given a thought to socialism as a philosophical entity, and none were really able to tell me what they thought socialism meant."

One of the fascinations of compiling such a story was documenting the startling contrasts of worldwide socialism. While Moscow Bureau Chief Marsh Clark watched Soviet President



Aikman at work in Rumania

Leonid Brezhnev receive visitors in a gilt room once used by Catherine the Great, Correspondent Lee Griggs recalled witnessing the beginnings of a dozen socialist countries when he was our man in Africa from 1959 to 1962 and again from 1972 to 1977. "The ceremonies, which were usually held in the soccer stadium of the new capital city, were full of joy," says Griggs. "At midnight, as the old colonial flag was lowered and the new flag was raised, the crowd would cheer and fireworks would greet the birth of a nation. Yet when I revisited those countries a few years later, the promises of socialism had become the ploys of power politics."

The special report was written by Associate Editor Burton Pines and researched by Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo. Pines, who taught European history at the University of Wisconsin and served as our Eastern Europe bureau chief from 1970 to 1971, also conceived the remarkable map that accompanies the story. Designed by Paul Pugliese, the head of our map department, and researched by Noel McCoy, the map shows the economic system, standard of living, and degree of political freedom in 134 countries. The result is a visual representation of the political phenomenon of our times.

Ralph P. Davidson

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Cover: Illustration by John O'Leary



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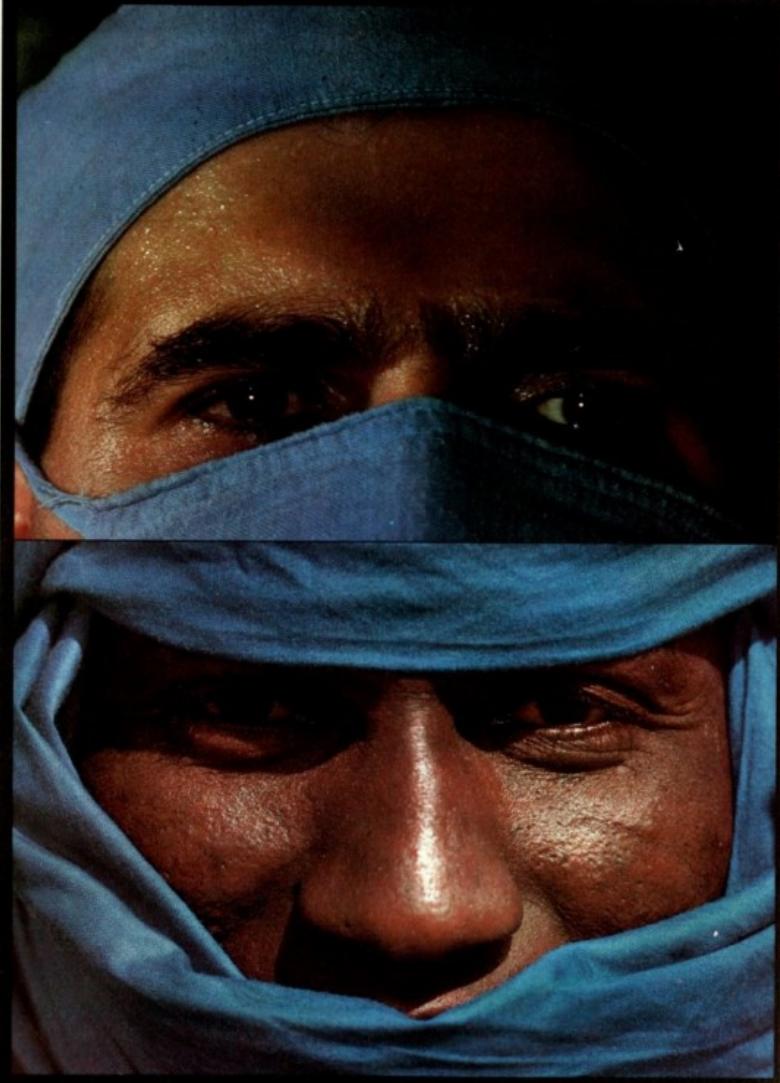
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## Letters

## Computer World

To the Editors:

Bravo for "The Computer Society" [Feb. 20]. The rapid advance of technology might be a more frightening phenomenon if man's ability to change and adapt were not what put us in this position in the first place!

*Harden H. Wiedemann  
Geneva*

I fail to see how a computer society will enrich the lives of its people. Increased leisure time is already a problem in the U.S. Who would actively, physically participate in a sport or hobby when



a computer could do it all for you? Might not life become unbearably boring?

*Yvonne Brandon Davis  
Carbondale, Ill.*

When we humans finally abandon the egotistical notion that skin and bones define sentient existence and that evolution is exclusively biological, we will recognize computers for what they are—the highest form of life on earth.

*John Swinton  
University Park, Pa.*

Robert Jastrow's Essay, "Toward an Intelligence Beyond Man's," is based on the claim that "in the 1990s ... the reasoning power of computers ... will begin to match that of the human brain." At no research laboratory that I know is there evidence for such a projection. Twenty years ago, computer conversion of spoken words to typed text was "around the corner." Today we are still unable to duplicate this simple human function, let alone reasoning. We cannot say that such things will never happen. We can say, however, that we have no scientific basis for forecasting the merger of human and machine intelligences at any time, let alone in ten or 1,000 years.

Equating the giant strides of computers to the simulation of human intelli-

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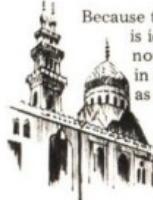
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An empty case of Inglenook Estate Bottled Charbono, 1973.

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So once again, we've created too little of a great tasting wine. But at Inglenook, we would rather apologize for the lack of quantity, than for the lack of quality.

Inglenook Vineyards, Rutherford, Napa Valley, California

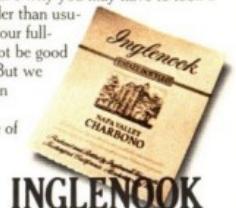
SOMETIMES ALL TOO SOON. Imagine. Making a wine as good as Inglenook Estate Bottled Charbono. And not making enough to go around.

But that's just the way many truly great wines are created—in carefully made limited bottlings. Limited, in the case of Charbono, by the small quantity of grapes grown. Which makes Charbono one of the rare wines of the world.

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Iwajiro Noda, Chairman

## Letters

gence is at best scientifically naive and at worst sensationalistic fuel to the public's suspicions about computers.

Michael L. Dertouzos, Director  
Laboratory for Computer Science  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge, Mass.

More chilling than the vision of a pushbutton life was your litany of the "benign" influence of new-generation computers. Mindless worship of faster-and-easier is the product of programmed thinking. The computers are proud of you.

Jeff Isenminger  
Decorah, Iowa

Wrapped in sweaters and quilts against the cold because of a coal strike, I am reading about the computer society under one light bulb. Doesn't it seem ludicrous that scientists are developing machines to take over more of our lives while we in Ohio are regretting how much we are already dependent on electricity and machines for our well-being?

Cheryl Hildebrand  
Ashland, Ohio

Your vision of the utopian future created by computers is enraging. Amid all the fancy gadgets, you still have the husband carrying out the important business while the wife does the shopping in an otherwise empty day. Some households of the present are doing better than that.

Marsha Zuckerman  
Pittsburgh

I found a 11.110.100.001.000.000-dollar baby in a 101- and 1010-cent store is the translation into binary of *I Found a Million Dollar Baby in a Five and Ten Cent Store*.

Edmund West  
Tacoma

Planet earth is signaling its presence to outer space with *I Love Lucy* and *Tonight!* You've gotta be kidding. When outer space sends its answer, we'd better be ready to duck.

(Mrs.) Jean Evans  
Platteville, Wis.

## A Reason to Pay

Just one glimpse of the picture of Richard Grimsshaw, the burn victim of a Pinto crash [Feb. 20], was enough to convince me that Ford Motor Co. deserves to be taken to the cleaners. While I realize that we, the consumers, eventually have to pay for this, it would appear to be justified in incidences such as this.

Penelope B. Davit  
Poolesville, Md.

## Terrifying Waxworks

As an art buff and an avid fan of Duane Hanson's terrifying waxworks, I take issue with Robert Hughes' rather pa-

# Your first home.

## Six things you should know about buying it.

1. Despite what you've heard, more people are buying homes. And nearly half\* of them are buying their first home. They haven't been frozen out of the market, and you shouldn't be either.
2. Nine out of ten are buying single-family homes.\* The single-family home is still the most popular housing form. Which makes it a good investment, because, if you ever decide to sell, there could be many buyers.
3. First-time buyers paid a median price of \$36,800.\* That means half paid more, but half paid less. Including prices for newly built as well as previously owned homes. Still, it's a lot less than you expected, isn't it?
4. First-time buyers made a down payment of 19.2% of the purchase price. For our median-priced home of \$36,800, that means a \$7,065.60 down payment.\* Not a slight amount, but not out of your financial reach.
5. Almost 85% of first-time buyers made their down payment from savings and investments.\* That tells you that establishing a planned savings program is of vital importance in buying your first home.
6. On the average, it takes the first-time buyer two and a half years to save up for

the down payment.\* So, if you're looking forward to buying your first home, it pays to start putting money into savings on a regular, every-payday basis, if you aren't already doing so.

Savings is one of the safest, surest ways to acquire a down payment. And people at the institution where you save can help with valuable management advice. Best of all, their financial expertise is yours for free.

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—Bill Tanier, *Ski Racing*

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## Letters

tronizing article [Feb. 20]. Hanson's sculptures relate harrowingly to each other, as well as to the crowd of viewers: they are you and me and the guy next door lost in an emptiness that cannot be made safe by platitudes, by science, or even by art reviews. In his unwillingness to see beyond the obvious, Mr. Hughes has eaten the recipe instead of the cake.

*Larry Wallingford  
Chicago*

I think Robert Hughes is much too harsh in his criticism of Duane Hanson's waxworks. You say relationships are necessary for tragedy. Doesn't the tragedy of our age consist precisely of alienation and lack of relationships? We try and try to relate, but become more and more disillusioned. His figures are universal human beings betrayed by the plastic age. Isolation. That to me is our tragedy, and Hanson says it finally and awfully.

*Mary Cabilish  
Belle, W. Va.*

## Homosexual Health

So 2,500 psychiatrists are putting homosexuals back on the sick list [Feb. 20]. It seems to me that the good doctors are basing their analyses on their own close encounters of the absurd kind. From those whom they see on their office couches, they "naturally" conclude that the whole homosexual population is pathologically evolved. Do they form their views on the entire heterosexual population from the sampling of troubled "straight" souls they see on their couches?

*Arthur N. Siegel  
Culver City, Calif.*

That my mental health as a gay person is even open to a popular vote of the A.P.A. tells the public less about my competency than about the sorry state of the psychiatric profession. First they vote that homosexuality is not a disorder. Now, presumably since public opinion may be starting a reactionary shift after Anita Bryant's campaign, they decide it is a "pathological adaptation." It is as if we were in a Roman circus, waiting for a capricious thumbs-up or thumbs-down from the almighty Caesar to determine the fate of our psychological selves.

Life could have certainly handed me a lot worse things than being a lesbian—I could have become a psychiatrist.

*Jeanne Flint  
New York City*

## The South's Share?

So, according to your story "Playing Poorer than Thou" [Feb. 13], Northern states are squawking over federal money headed South. Until New Deal assistance, the South had long been a Government stepchild. After a crushing Civil War defeat, tax-ridden Reconstruction punctuated by unfulfilled Northern promises of

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**"The grip is basic  
for proper control!"**

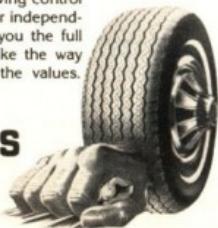
Tom Watson,  
1977 Masters and  
British Open Champion

## **"The grip is basic for proper control!"**

Armstrong Tires

The way a tire is designed and built determines how well it grips the road. And that is a factor which determines the kind of driving control you get behind the wheel. Why do Roger Staubach and Tom Watson prefer the Armstrong Coronet steel belted radial? They like the way Coronet's road-hugging design gives them a combination of driving control and passenger comfort. Ask your independent Armstrong dealer to show you the full line of Armstrong tires. You'll like the way they perform. And you'll love the values.

**ARMSTRONG TIRES**  
GRIP THE ROAD



## **Letters**

jobs for freed blacks, discriminatory railroad freight rates, denial of Government pensions for Confederate veterans and widows, it's time the South got her share of Government funds.

Donald N. Edwards  
Santa Rosa, Calif.

### **A Lot of Fruit**

You don't really believe that West Germany "annually imports 140 million tons of citrus products from Israel," as you said in "Strange Fruits" [Feb. 13]. That would require each of West Germany's 62 million people to eat more than two tons of Israeli fruit per year.

Robert McQueen  
Reno

West Germany imports around 180,000 tons of citrus fruit from Israel annually.

### **Human Nature and Litigation**

Attorney Paul Ashley's suggestion that most voluntary human relationships could benefit from written contracts [Feb. 13] is another attempt to put the hands of lawyers into the pockets of the people.

Human nature is such that persons will always change their minds, thereby allowing the possibility of litigation, naturally between two good lawyers.

Lucindo Suarez  
New York City

### **Crocodiles in Lesotho?**

In your article describing Journalist Donald Woods' escape from South Africa [Feb. 13], you say, "He forded a crocodile-infested river."

As a former chief conservation officer in Lesotho, I would like to point out that the Telle River, which Woods forded to get into Lesotho from the Republic of South Africa, flows at an elevation of 5,800 ft. and up. A very negative environment for crocodiles.

The crocodile appears as a symbol on Lesotho's coat of arms but nowhere else in that high and beautiful country.

Thomas P. Helseth  
Sun City, Ariz.

### **The British Character**

What really irks me is to hear a Brit-on like Tory Leader Margaret Thatcher [Feb. 20] ask a legal immigrant to go back where he came from, and then talk about how much the "British character" has contributed toward law-and-order in this world. Maybe if the British had stuck to their god forsaken island and let people of other cultures live in peace, the world would be a better place to live in now.

Bakkiam Subbiah, M.D.  
Iowa City, Iowa

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020



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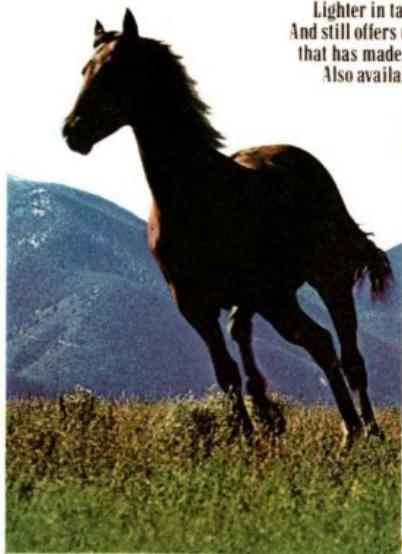
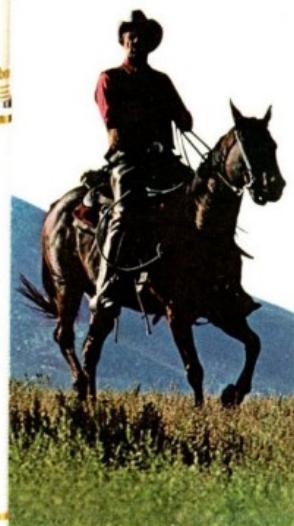
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MICHAEL D. SULLIVAN

Striking U.M.W. members grimly assemble in Cedar Grove, W. Va., to protest contract agreed on by union leadership and operators

## Nation

TIME / MAR. 13, 1978

# The Coal Miners Decide

*And Carter, Congress and country prepare for the worst*

After three months of strike, after two detailed contracts had been negotiated, after the White House had intervened and called on both the industry and the union to settle their differences for the national good, the critical decision last week lay in the rough and sturdy hands of the 165,000 United Mine Workers. In scores of begrimed towns throughout Appalachia, in settings as varied as Utah, Missouri and Pennsylvania, they marched to their union headquarters to cast their ballots—or, in some instances, angrily shred and burn their copies of the pact. And though the final results would not be in until this week, from the very first tallies the tide ran heavily against acceptance of the contract.

The outcome of the vote was crucial for the nation and for the President, who had committed his prestige by trying to force a settlement. Officially, White House policy last week was one of hands off. "We will not be encouraging ratifica-

tion or campaigning for it," declared Labor Secretary Ray Marshall.<sup>1</sup> "The choice is theirs." Nevertheless, the White House increased the pressure for an agreement by preparing to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act. In the past the miners defied Taft-Hartley, and their acquiescence now is uncertain. But the President selected a board of inquiry to determine if a national emergency existed. Affidavits were drawn up certifying that the strike posed a threat to national health and safety, and plans were reviewed to go to federal court, should the vote be no, to seek an injunction for an 80-day cooling-off period. Additional injunctions would be sought against as many as a dozen particularly troublesome locals to make sure that their members returned to work. Marshall also warned that food stamps would be cut off for miners who continued to stay out.

<sup>1</sup>Adding to last week's pressures, his son Christopher, 15, was operated on for cancer of the lungs; he had already lost an arm to the disease.

In addition to preparing for Taft-Hartley, the White House sounded out Congress on the prospects for legislation enabling the U.S. Government to take over the mines. Marshall held long talks with members of Congress from coal areas: Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd and Senator Randolph Jennings of West Virginia and Representative Carl Perkins of Kentucky. Support for seizure of the mines seemed shaky. It would be unpalatable to the operators, who had already given way under presidential pressure on the new contract, and might lose still more if the Government ran the mines. While the profits would still go to the owners, wages and work rules would be set by the Government. The takeover, however, would have the grudging approval of the miners, who figure they could get a better contract from the White House than from the operators.

The White House's ability to settle the strike was strictly limited. Both sides have

proved to be stubborn, fractious and suspicious. In the scarred and desolate hills of Appalachia, owners and miners both take for granted a degree of conflict that does not exist in other U.S. industries. From the start, the 130 companies that belong to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association showed a determination to bludgeon the union into a contract that had little chance of ratification by the rank and file. In exchange for a 37% pay increase over a three-year period, the owners insisted on making the miners pay for part of their medical benefits and fining them for wildcat strikes. For reasons that are still obscure, U.M.W. President Arnold Miller went along with a settlement that he must have known would be as acceptable as black lung to his membership. When it was overwhelmingly rejected by the bargaining council, which consists of the union's 39 district leaders, he had to go back under a barrage of criticism for another round of negotiations. "If we didn't live in an Oriental society," quipped Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, "we could have settled this a long time ago."

**T**he U.M.W. leadership spent \$40,000 to whip up support for ratification of the second pact. Country Singer Johnny Paycheck, a favorite of the miners, was recruited to support the settlement in one-minute radio spots. Instead of belting out his top song, *Take This Job and Shove It*, he pushed the new contract by singing a few bars of *Spread the Good News Around*. Miller traveled through Appalachia, appealing to the locals and making a pitch on television. District presidents chorused their own praise of the pact over nine TV and 50 radio stations in all the regions where U.M.W. coal is mined.

The rank and file, however, remained skeptical. They assembled at their locals to hear the pact explained and to ask questions. Each miner was handed a copy of the contract in a 36-page booklet. No literary scholar is better at reading between the lines than a miner, who treats a contract as reverently as the Bible and even takes it underground in case there is a grievance. The more the miners read, the angrier many of them became.

At a typical meeting in Vestaburg (pop. 950), Pa., the room was so thick with smoke that the people in back could hardly see the district president up front. As the debate wore on, miners from time to time slipped out into the raw morning air to spit out tobacco juice—a habit they acquire to get rid of the coal dust they inhale in the mines. The gesture may also have expressed their feelings about the contract. "If Carter says this contract's a fair shake," said one miner, "they can take that peanut farmer back to Georgia and bury him." Terry Stay, 23, former social worker who became a miner to earn more money, agreed: "We aren't a bunch of shanty tramps like television shows you every night. We deserve better."

While disappointed with the contract, other miners admitted that they would



**Angry Virginia coal miner shreds contract  
Deep suspicions amid desolate hills.**

vote for it as the best they could probably get. "If the younger folks want to fight it out, let them," said Frank Washburn, 61, at the end of the Vestaburg meeting. "I wonder if a turndown now would get us anything in the future."

The three-month strike has already cost the average miner as much as \$5,000 in pay, which he will not be able to make up for several years. "A lot of us are hurting," admitted Charles Chadwick of District 5 in Pennsylvania. "Last night I had to lend my neighbor a pound of meat because he didn't have enough food. I'm going to lose my house if I don't get back to work pretty quick, and plenty of

people around here are in the same fix."

The miners did not particularly object to the pay increase in the contract, which boosts them from an average of \$8.71 an hour to \$11.40 over three years (their average annual income will rise from \$15,300 to \$20,000). But they balked at three other provisions:

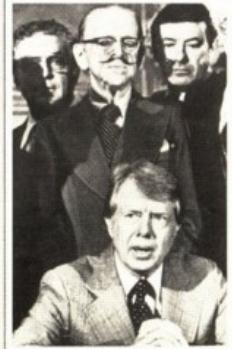
**Right to strike.** The miners insist on their right to throw up a local picket line whenever they feel they have a grievance that is not being properly handled by management. Since their work is dangerous, they are prone to object to unsafe conditions. Wildcat strikes cost the industry 2.5 million man-days last year. While the "highlights" of the new contract promise them that there will be no punishment for honoring a picket line, Article II states that they can be disciplined or discharged for "causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike."

What, they asked themselves, is the difference? It seemed to be a murky distinction that could only be cleared up by a series of arbitrations that might go against the miners. "They can't fire you for not crossing a picket line," complained Bill Stratton, a District 17 miner, "but you can't picket in the first place. How is that gonna work?" Cecil Roberts, the district's vice president, tried to explain: "If pickets were there when you got to work and you went home, you'd have a good case. But if they weren't there and you still went back home, you'd be in trouble."

**Health care.** Free medical attention is almost as traditional as strikes in coal country due to the hazardous nature of the work. Last summer, however, the U.M.W. health fund began to run out of money because all the wildcat strikes had reduced the management contributions based on coal output. The miners were forced to start paying part of their medical bills, a

## Representative Flood Eyes His Act

**W**hen the President signs a bill, the White House traditionally invites interested Congressmen to the Oval Office for ceremonial photographs. So it was last week with the black-lung bill to increase benefits for disabled coal miners, and among the invited legislators was Democratic Congressman Dan Flood of Pennsylvania. For Flood, who is under investigation for numerous influence-peddling schemes, the chance for some flattery instead of flak was a godsend. Flood showed up early at the Oval Office and anchored himself behind the presidential chair. Party leaders began jostling to get the Congressman off center stage. No words were spoken. Flood, grabbing the chair tightly, would not budge. When Carter appeared, he sized up the problem and mumbled to Flood that he had been reading about him in the papers. Then he signed the bill. And Flood got his picture taken.



## Nation

practice that the new contract continues. Every working miner's family would have to pay up to \$500 a year for hospital charges, \$150 for doctors' fees and \$50 for drugs. To many miners, this was an outrage. Others acknowledged that it makes some sense. Said a younger member of District 17: "People used to come into the hospital to dry out from a drunk or just for something to do. A miner who is working can afford the deductible."

**Pensions.** When the federal pension reform bill was passed in 1974, U.M.W. retirement benefits were changed. Miners who retired after 1975 were granted higher payments because their pensions were more fully funded. Thus 81,600 U.M.W. retirees receive only \$250 a month, while a privileged 7,100 get as much as \$500. The earlier retirees are threatening to picket the mines and close them down unless the pension gap is closed or at least considerably narrowed. Warns a retired miner in District 17: "We ain't got nothing else to do, and we got nothing to lose."

They are supported by miners still on the job in a customary display of solidarity. "We're not forsaking our fathers," says Jerold Hamrick, 35. "Blood is thicker than a contract and thicker than coal." Adds another young miner: "The way we treat these old miners is going to have a lot to do with how we get treated when we're old. We're all brothers."

**T**hough coal production has dropped to 6.6 million tons a week from 13.6 million tons a year ago, the nation has weathered the strike better than expected. Efforts at conservation as well as sharing of available power have allowed utilities dependent on coal to stay in business. Last week Pittsburgh's Duquesne Light Co. put a mandatory 25% power cut into effect for its 39 largest industrial and commercial customers, but it does not anticipate any further reduction in the near future. In February it purchased 35% of its power at an extra cost of \$15 million from

as far away as Canada and the Carolinas.

Utilities with coal shortages have also been helped by shipments from nonunion mines, which furnish about half the nation's coal. Thanks to outside coal, Ohio Edison, the state's most important utility, was able to cancel 400 megawatts of power it was purchasing from other power companies. Barring some unexpected development, the company will not have to impose any mandatory cutbacks on industry for 15 to 30 days. That means homes will stay warm and well-lit and factories will keep humming.

Once the strike is ended, it will still take up to three weeks to get the mines back to full production. Even so, utility officials began to relax and ridicule the alarmed reactions in Washington. Yet Washington, too, seemed reasonably certain that the nation's energy would continue to be supplied. Said Jerry Pfeffer, a deputy assistant administrator of the Department of Energy: "We think we can maintain the system indefinitely." ■

## "An Injunction on Both Your Houses"

In an interview with TIME Correspondent Don Sider, Labor Secretary Ray Marshall explained the thinking behind White House actions on the coal strike.

**Q.** It has been suggested that perhaps the Mayor Daley school of labor relations would have helped settle the strike—that is, a subtle word last November to both sides that if they did not reach an agreement by a certain date, there would be a heavy weight falling on their heads. Do you agree?

**A.** I don't think so. The problem with a threat is that you've got to be ready to come through with the "or else." You also have to believe that neither party wants the "or else." You couldn't be sure of that. Another point to remember is that it was unnecessary to threaten the negotiators to get them to come to an agreement. They reached an agreement, which was rejected by the U.M.W. bargaining council. To whom, then, should we have addressed the threat?

**Q.** Is there nothing more that the President could have done?

**A.** We think it is important to keep the President out of the collective bargaining process as long as possible. The fact that we were not precipitous, that we waited a long time, that we were not going to do anything until there was a serious problem, has made people realize that the cost of involving the President is going to be pretty high. I don't think anybody is going to sit down and say: "We're going to take a 90-day strike in order to get presidential intervention." This is the first time Jimmy Carter has had

to intervene. We stayed out of the longshoremen's strike and the iron-ore strike, and they were resolved. We've communicated that we'll do everything we can to facilitate the process, to conciliate, to supply information, but it's your problem.

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

**Q.** What was your basic behind-the-scenes strategy?

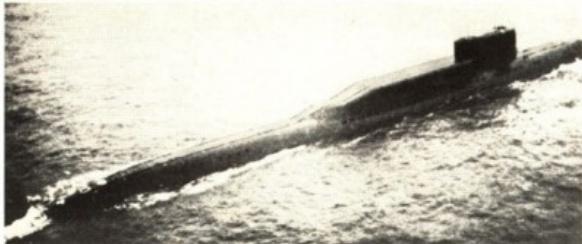
**A.** Very early we established that whatever we did, we wanted production to resume. That meant we had to be fair to get cooperation from both labor and management. One possibility that became clear was that the workers might go back to the mines, but they wouldn't dig much coal. That's not going to help anybody. Nor is it going to help anybody to have management mad at us and not do a good job of managing. If either side decided to show that the Government couldn't do the job, it wouldn't be very hard for them to prove that.

**Q.** Would any changes in the labor law be helpful in a strike like this one?

**A.** It would be useful if we had more options in the Taft-Hartley Act. I would like to get the miners back to work under conditions other than an old contract, especially if it's a three-year contract and prices have been rising substantially. In the current strike, the union's welfare and pension funds have also been depleted. If the miners are ordered back to work, they are likely to consider it to be unfair, and we have to worry about their response. That's the reason we developed the idea of federal seizure of the mines as a way to compensate: an injunction on both your houses.



Labor Secretary Marshall defending policies  
"To whom should we address the threat?"



Soviet Delta-class submarine provokes new debate on whether Moscow violates arms treaty

## Trying to Soothe SALT's Critics

The Administration claims the Soviets are playing fair

**W**e have had five years of monitoring Soviet compliance with the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, and the record to date has been generally good."

So insisted a U.S. arms-control expert last week as the Carter Administration stepped up its efforts to soften opposition in Congress to a new SALT treaty. The old pact expired in October, but the U.S. and Soviet Union have agreed to continue abiding by it while negotiators in Geneva bargain on a SALT II treaty.

If they reach an accord, it will have to be ratified by the Senate before taking effect. But fears persist on Capitol Hill that the Soviets have underhandedly violated the old SALT agreement and cannot be trusted to keep a new one. Indeed, former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird accused Moscow of exactly that in a recent article in the *Reader's Digest*, *Arms Control: The Russians Are Cheating!*

In an 18-page report given to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance admits that the Soviets have taken full advantage of loopholes in the old treaty and operated at its uppermost limits. Nonetheless, the report concludes that Moscow has not committed any clear-cut violations of SALT I.

The report is based largely on the supersecret proceedings of the Standing Consultative Commission in Geneva, which is a joint U.S.-Soviet grievance board for monitoring SALT I, and the National Security Council's Verification Panel. By making the information public, the Administration sought to refute Laird's charges, as well as those made by other SALT opponents. The chief points:

► In 1973, the U.S. suspected (presumably on evidence from spy satellites) that the Soviets were violating the treaty by building new missile silos. When challenged, the Russians explained that the installations were actually new bunkers for missile technicians and thus not prohibited. According to the report, further inves-

tigation by U.S. intelligence sources determined that the Soviets were telling the truth.

► In 1973 and 1974, the U.S. spotted the Soviets using an antiaircraft radar system to track one of their own missiles in flight. The U.S. questioned whether the Soviets were illegally converting antiaircraft defenses into an antiballistic missile system. But the Soviets maintained that they were using the radar only to test the rocket's navigation system. Still, notes the report, the radar activity ceased "a short time later."

► In 1974, the U.S. thought that the Soviets might be breaking the treaty by taking steps, not spelled out in the report, that could enable them eventually to conceal installations from U.S. spy satellites. When the U.S. complained, the Soviets stopped the activities.

► In 1975, the Soviets began deploying monster SS-18 super-rockets, which can carry as many as eight independently targetable warheads, despite a treaty provision that forbids the converting of land-based "light" ICBM launchers into vehicles for "heavy" ones. But since SALT I does not define "light" and "heavy," the Administration decided that there was no violation. The report promises that this loophole will be closed in SALT II.

The report also discloses that the Soviets questioned whether the U.S. was violating SALT I on five occasions, though all of the queries were later withdrawn. In one case, the Russians objected to temporary shelters used to protect U.S. Minuteman missile silos from rain and snow while they were being rebuilt, beginning in 1973. After the U.S. reduced the size of the shelters by half, the Soviets dropped the matter.

Senate supporters of SALT predictably praised the report. Said Democrat John Culver of Iowa: "It should lay to rest attempts to undermine arms-limitation efforts." Added Democrat Gary Hart of Colorado: "The U.S. has been vigilant." But opponents, who are led by Washington Senator Scoop Jackson, were far from satisfied. Said an aide to one prominent Senate skeptic: "The compliance

report is a real whitewash. We intend to go over it line by line."

The debate over SALT was heated up even more last week by new evidence of possible Soviet transgressions, ones the Vance report does not address. According to some Defense Department analysts, Moscow is operating 64 ballistic-missile submarines—two more than the ceiling set by SALT I. Other U.S. analysts argue that because the two extra subs have not yet been sent out on patrol, the Soviets have not exceeded the limit. Moreover, three additional new Soviet Delta-class missile subs have been rigged and are ready for sea trials, but they also have not been used on patrols. Thus, says a U.S. Navy intelligence officer, "right now it is official judgment that no hard evidence of Soviet violations exists, though we do agree that they are pushing right out to the edges."

**A**t the same time, as the Administration was trying to soothe U.S. critics of SALT, President Carter was warning the Soviets that their military intervention in Ethiopia was straining relations with the U.S. and jeopardizing SALT II's chances. He carefully noted that the Administration was not linking the war in the Horn of Africa with the arms-limitation talks. But, he added, Soviet actions could "lessen the confidence of the American people in the ... peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union." Carter's point: alarm in the Senate over Soviet intervention in the war between Ethiopia and Somalia might cause any SALT treaty to be rejected. In short, only the Russians can keep SALT II from getting caught between the Horn and the Hill. ■

## Love? Sign Here

*A modest proposal for consumer protection*

**M**any unusual propositions have been debated in U.S. state legislatures, but a new climax of sorts may have been reached in Oklahoma last week as representatives pondered the notion of a consumer protection code for sex. The idea came from Representative Cleta Deatherage, 27, who argued vigorously that men should be required to obtain written consent from women before engaging in intercourse, and that women, before granting such consent, should receive a warning about the risks of pregnancy and the health dangers of childbirth. Her proposal was a protest amendment tacked on to an ant-abortion bill before the legislature, and it paralleled sections in the proposed law that would require doctors to issue similar warnings to abortion applicants. Casanova would have reeled, and so did most of the Oklahoma representatives. They passed the anti-abortion bill 70 to 24, but defeated Deatherage's amendment by a solid 78 to 9. ■

## Nation

### Farmers: Beet-Red, Raising Cane

The sweets and sours of the Administration's sugar program

The retail price of sugar in the U.S. has careened between 17¢ and 63¢ per lb. during the past four years, a statistic well known to the often riled housewife. It is the cost at the supermarket that makes the headlines. But behind those prices can be multimillion-dollar battles between commercial and political rivals that escape public notoriety. And in this case there are. The very bitterness of the sugar-pricing controversy can be seen in one of the last official acts by the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, who in a statement accused the Carter Administration of "bungling and ineptitude" and acting "contrary to the expressed intent of Congress" in its sugar policies.

Pending before the Senate now is an international agreement that would stabilize sugar prices through voluntary limits on exports to the U.S. by foreign producers, chiefly the Philippines and the Dominican Republic. But the Senators, reflecting the anger with the President felt by Congressmen from farm states, are in no mood to support the pact until the Administration establishes a policy ensuring that U.S. sugar producers will not be hurt by foreign competition.

Sugar has been a sticky problem for Congress for years. As the world's biggest importer (11 million tons a year), the U.S. used to control its vast imports by doling out quotas to exporting nations. That system broke down in 1974 when the price of sugar shot up, partly because of crop failures, to a record 64.5¢ per lb. Overproduction then sent prices dropping again. By the time Carter took office, they had fallen to about 10¢ per lb., some 3½¢ below the break-even point for domestic growers. Recalled Agriculture Secretary

Robert Bergland: "The sugar situation was an economic disaster."

Both Bergland and the U.S. International Trade Commission urged Carter to reimpose import quotas, but the President refused, arguing reasonably enough that quotas would be too protectionist. Instead, he ordered a 2¢-per-lb. subsidy, which was supposed to enable efficient domestic producers to make a profit on their crops. But the nation's 5,000 sugarcane and 15,000 sugar-beet growers found that world prices were continuing to drop so fast that even with the subsidy they were losing money. At the same time, the major sugar-user firms, such as the Coca-Cola Co., General Foods Corp and Nestlé Alimentana, were more than happy with Carter's program because it kept prices low and increased their profits.

Many farm-state Senators and Congressmen muttered, perhaps unfairly, that Carter's policy was chiefly intended to benefit Atlanta-based Coca-Cola, which is the nation's biggest commercial sugar user, accounting for about 10% of annual U.S. consumption, and is headed by his longtime friend J. Paul Austin. At a Senate hearing, Louisiana Democrat Russell Long told Bergland, "I would call the existing sugar program a Coca-Cola program." Repiled White House Aide Lynn Daft: "The Coca-Cola charge is an outrage." Still, in a July 7 memo to Carter, White House Assistant Stuart Eizenstat recommended that the President indicate his

"willingness" to raise tariffs, at least to cool off Congress. Carter's reply: "Not yet—but keep me informed."

Then on July 28, the House overwhelmingly approved an amendment to the 1977 farm bill ordering the Administration to impose tariffs on foreign sugar and establish a loan or purchase program that would support prices at 55¢ of parity or 14.3¢ per lb.

The next day Bergland warned Agricultural Committee Chairmen Thomas Foley in the House and Herman Talmadge in the Senate that the President would veto the farm bill if a joint conference committee did not drop the amendment. Three days before Bergland passed along the veto threat, the leading sugar-user spokesman, Coca-Cola's chief purchaser, John Mount, remarked to a group of colleagues while they were having drinks at the bar of Washington's Sheraton-Carlton Hotel: "If we cannot prevail in conference, we will just have to call in a few chits and have the President veto the farm bill." Mount told TIME Correspondent Greg Wierzyński last week that the comment—which he does not remember making—was nothing more than an idle boast. Said he: "I apparently violated an old rule, never to discuss business at the bar."

Whatever Mount's role, Bergland and Long worked out a compromise. The price-support level was established at 13.5¢ per lb., and Bergland pledged to begin setting up the support program before the bill became law on Oct. 1. But Bergland was unable to persuade Carter to back the plan. Said Bergland: "The President and his advisers were more comfortable with the payments scheme."

Sensing a doublecross, Republican Senator Robert Dole of Kansas angrily accused Bergland of being in "open conflict with what the Congress has directed him to do." Finally, in early November the Administration imposed the tariff and established the support program. For no apparent reason, however, the regulations omitted refined sugar from the tariffs and were otherwise ineffective in curtailing the import of raw sugar before the Jan. 1 deadline. While the Administration delayed closing the loopholes for ten weeks, foreign sugar flooded the U.S. In December alone, nearly 2 million tons of sugar was imported, about six times the normal amount. With warehouses still bulging with surplus sugar, prices are expected to be depressed for months, a fact that may make housewives smile but is of no solace to the still beset U.S. sugar grower.



Sugar cane being harvested in Santa Rosa, Texas; inset: Lobbyist John Mount  
Careening prices and million-dollar battles between commercial and political rivals.

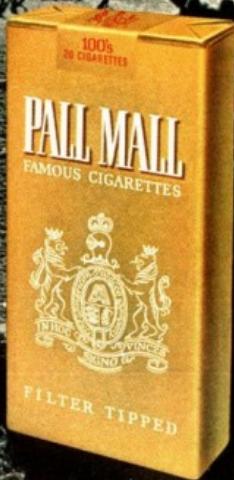


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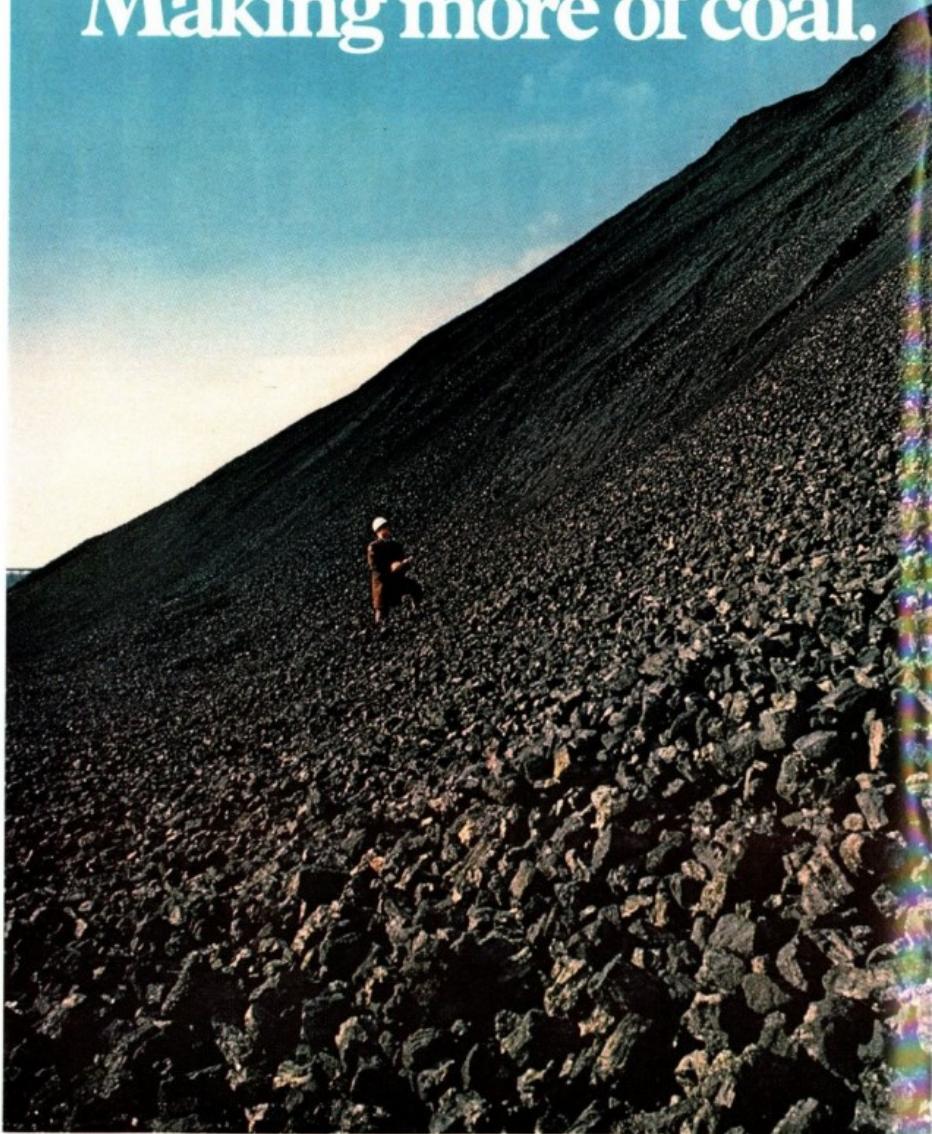


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# THE NEW MONTE CARLO. IN TUNE WITH THE TIMES, APART FROM THE CROWD.

**H**e fact that you paused at this page would seem to indicate that you have an eye for beauty.

Monte Carlo is indeed a jewel. A sparkling combination of crisp angles and soft curves, today's Monte Carlo stands proudly apart from the crowd with a poise and personality all its own.

It is clean, contemporary, thoroughly new.

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PUT A LITTLE DISTANCE BETWEEN YOURSELF AND THE CROWD.

## Nation



Customs men scan waters of Miami harbor for drug-carrying vessels



Agent's glasses provide night vision

## Pot Smugglers' Paradise

Drug runners easily elude police in Florida Keys

In the past three years, the smuggling of drugs from Latin America has become Florida's growth industry, a multibillion-dollar business involving private airlines and speedboats. Mafia connections and high-priced lawyers. Arrayed against them is the collective might of the U.S. Customs Service, the Coast Guard and the Drug Enforcement Administration, as well as local lawmen. The good guys are clearly losing the battle. Last year Feds in the Southeast seized roughly 1.4 million lbs. of marijuana, with a street value of \$420 million, and 533 lbs. of cocaine worth \$133 million. But perhaps ten times that amount got through. A pound of marijuana costs \$40 in Colombia and brings \$500 in New York. Says Don Turnbaugh, chief of Customs patrol in Miami: "The situation is out of control. We're fighting an best a holding action. To think of stopping them is absurd."

TIME Correspondent Richard Woodbury reports from the scene:

The game is played out nightly in the inlets and beaches of Florida's 1,200-mile coastline, along back-country roads and at dirt airstrips. Fishermen churning home to Miami through the Cape Florida channel may be startled to find a white Customs launch bearing down on them. Blue-shirted men with holstered revolvers play a high-intensity beam through cabins and scan decks with night-vision goggles. Near by on the Miami River, other officers crouch in a thicket of weeds, training binoculars on a rusting banana boat, watching for seamen debarking with suspicious packages. To the south at Key Largo, deputy sheriffs with high-powered rifles cruise through mangrove swamps, on the prowl for marijuana runners.

For a time, pot runners virtually owned the place, bringing to real life the

Key Largo of Bogart and Bacall. They hacked their own roads through the mosquito-ridden mangrove, sealed them off with padlocked gates, and even staked out a sheriff's substation with a walkie-talkie lookout to learn of patrols. But lately the police have regained the initiative.

As Sergeant Robert Brack, 29, edged his maroon sedan through the underbrush, his headlights picked out two giant vans. Suddenly there was a roar of boat engines and rifle fire. Pinned down, Brack held off the attackers until help came. Two shrimp boats packed with pot ran aground in the confusion. Surrounded in the thicket, a gang of eleven men was captured, along with \$14 million in grass.

The smugglers spend heavily for good equipment, whereas "Customs," as one of them puts it, "have to go to Congress just to get an airplane." Indeed, the Feds' best material comes from what they have confiscated from smugglers. Three of Customs' aging Florida fleet of eight planes are trophies of pot busts.

The Feds boast more than 100 boats, but the fastest Coast Guard launch will travel only 28 m.p.h. The smugglers' sleek ocean racers, stripped of galleys and bunks for greater capacity, can do 50 m.p.h. fully loaded. "We are outmanned and outrun," says Coast Guard Commander John Ikens. "They have more money than we do."

On both sides, it is a war of ingenious technology. The drug runners pack their craft with ten-channel digital scanners to monitor lawmen. Surplus nightscopes from the Viet Nam War enable them to spot a cutter in the darkest channel at three miles. Federal infiltrators occasionally manage to install transponders on the enemy aircraft to chart their whereabouts. But the drug runners have "fuzz busters,"

electronic devices that warn when they are on the radarscope.

The Feds rely heavily on informants and undercover men. Last year DEA agents masquerading as buyers maneuvered a small fishing boat up to an aging freighter off the Bahamas and made a pot purchase. Then a cutter emerged from hiding, pouring a fusillade of 3-in. canister fire over the ship's bow as the crew attempted to jettison its 54-ton marijuana cargo. But good intelligence is thin and expensive. Informants get up to \$2,500 and a share of the confiscated gear, but the enemy has its own network of counter-intelligence agents. They have attempted to bribe Coast Guardsmen for patrol schedules. Now even routine sailings from Miami are kept secret.

The Coast Guard has boosted patrols by one-third, stages surprise harbor blockades and keeps a near continuous surveillance of the Windward Passage, the major shipping route north. A "hot list" of known pot boats has helped officials make 70 seizures in the past three years. But some of the biggest busts have come by accident: a cabin cruiser, floundering under its own weight of pot off Fort Lauderdale, was forced to radio authorities for help. Another ran into a bridge.

Prosecution is hampered by hazy, antiquated law. The Feds' chief tool is a Prohibition-era statute, the Hovering Vessels Act. But nabbing a ship in the act of unloading is a rarity. The Coast Guard has authority to board an unmarked vessel on the high seas, but possession of drugs is not a crime beyond the twelve-mile limit.

Finally, the odds of beating a drug charge are good. Miami has 30 lawyers who specialize in drug cases. Federal prosecutors are so swamped that they rarely bother with pot cases of less than one ton. Many prosecutions are assigned to state courts, where a conviction is often followed with light punishment for first offenders. Typical sentence: six months. ■

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If you put your car to the test on the left and discover it rates a lot of "poors" and "fairs," maybe you should own a Volvo.

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\*Survey conducted among owners of new cars bought in May, 1977.

<sup>†</sup>Suggested retail price P.O.E. local taxes, dealer prep fee, delivery charges and License Sold<sup>TM</sup> extra additional.



## VOLVO. A CAR YOU CAN BELIEVE IN.



Buildings devastated by tank-car explosion in Waverly, Tenn.



Wrecked railroad cars drenched in foam by fire fighters near Youngstown, Fla.

## Nation

### Playing Railroad Roulette

A game that caused 20 deaths

**W**hile workers were preparing to transfer 20,000 gal. of liquid propane gas from a derailed tank car to trucks in Waverly, Tenn., the gas suddenly exploded, leveling 14 buildings. "It was just like you were thrown into a furnace," said Truck Driver Carl Stokes, who was burned severely. "It was like a power throwing us into the sun. People were walking, their clothes were gone and their bodies were completely burned." The toll: twelve dead and at least 50 injured.

Two days later, as a 140-car freight rumbled through tiny Youngstown in Florida's panhandle, all five locomotives hurtled off the track, piling up 47 cars like jackstraws. From one ruptured tanker poured a cloud of deadly, yellowish-green chlorine gas. Engineer Ray Shores grabbed his portable short-wave radio and sprinted 75 yds. to a swamp, where he burrowed deep into the mud and called for help.

When the gas spread across nearby Route 231, it looked at first like fog to Richard Kuhn, who was driving home to New York from a skindiving vacation in Florida. Then his van stalled and he got a whiff of the searing vapor. Kuhn strapped on his scuba air tank and walked out of the death cloud to safety. Another motorist, Donald Sellers of Tallahassee, a veteran of Army chemical-warfare training, recognized the gas as chlorine and told his wife to get to the floor of the car, where there was still breathable air. "We were both vomiting," he said. "The

### Out of Chaos

Seconds after Continental Airlines' Honolulu-bound Flight 603 blew two tires and burst into flames at Los Angeles International Airport last week, Passenger Dimo Safari ran barefoot to safety and took this striking photograph. One

crewman is dangling from the DC-10's cockpit window. Passengers are sliding down the escape chutes. Casualties were held to two dead, 73 injured; 123 survived unharmed. Chief credit went to Veteran Pilot Gene Hersche, who was making his last flight two days before his 60th birthday—and retirement.



car was a mess. Fortunately, we had just eaten. The doctors said the food absorbed a lot of gas."

Ambulance Driver Doug Lister and his partner, Marty Shipman, were the first rescuers to reach the twisted wreckage. Said Shipman: "Suddenly I couldn't breathe. I started screaming at Doug to get the hell out of there." Added Lister: "I was spitting up blood. I felt like I was breathing flames. I thought I was going to die." Lister managed to put the ambulance into reverse and rush away. Others were not so lucky: eight people died and 50 were injured.

Also last week, a 101-car Illinois Central Gulf train jumped the tracks in Cadets, Tenn. Among the derailed cars was one filled with caustic sodium hydroxide. Two days later 33 cars of a 91-car train, including one flatcar with a truck trailer containing 200 cases of flammable insecticide, derailed near Bowling Green, Ky. In neither accident were there any deaths or injuries.

**N**ot for nearly a decade have U.S. railroads had such a wretched five days. Federal investigators blamed the Youngstown wreck on sabotage—someone had unbolted two sections of rail. But the other three derailments apparently were caused by mechanical failures: broken wheels in Waverly and Bowling Green, and a broken brake assembly in Cadets. Indeed, the tracks and much of the equipment belonging to U.S. railroads have been deteriorating for years, and experts agree that the situation is steadily worsening. Last year there were about 8,000 derailments—3,000 more than the total ten years ago—including 150 or so in which tank cars leaked dangerous chemicals.

The railroads themselves are responsible for inspecting and maintaining track and equipment. Officials of the railroads involved in the latest derailments insisted that they had taken all possible precautions. Said Donald T. Martin, an executive with Family Lines System, which operated the train that derailed in Waverly: "We do our utmost to keep our track and roadbed in good shape. We had inspected the track at Waverly two days before the accident. But there is no way to tell when a wheel will break. There's no way to tell when the metal will get tired."

But federal experts say that U.S. railroads, except for the handful that are in sound financial shape, simply cannot afford to keep their equipment properly maintained. Observed Raymond James, chief counsel and acting director of the Federal Railroad Administration's Safety Office: "The railroad system does not generate enough income to sustain itself. What gives first is maintenance, and it's getting worse." Despite a 10% increase in freight rates in 1974 and an annual expenditure of \$9 billion in maintenance, the railroads since that year have reduced a backlog of \$4.1 billion in needed repairs by only \$1 billion.

At the same time, railroads have increased shipments of poisonous, explosive

and asphyxiating chemicals, to 80 million tons in 1976. They also routinely transport nuclear materials, so far without serious accident. To keep up with the demand, shippers have doubled the capacity of the average tank car, to 100 tons. Federal safety standards that took effect last September require new tankers to be equipped with crash shields to prevent punctures and thermal liners to reduce the chance of explosions. But shippers have until 1981 to remodel the 23,000 tank cars that are used to ship dangerous substances. Only about 20 now meet the new standards. Moreover, as an economy measure, railroads have increased the length of their freight trains. Declared Kay Bailey, acting head of the National Transportation Safety Board: "The tracks often cannot bear the load of bigger trains and heavier cars."

To solve the problem, Governors Ray

Blanton of Tennessee and Julian Carroll of Kentucky urged the Federal Government to take over the nation's 199,411 miles of roadbed and restore it to good condition. Transportation Secretary Brock Adams rejected the idea. Said he: "Such a move would produce protests from the railroads and the unions, and I personally do not favor it." But he promised to increase the number of federal track inspectors (present total: about 300) and ask Congress to vote more financial aid for state inspection agencies. Further, Adams pledged to convene a panel of experts to devise safer ways to transport dangerous cargoes. But there is a growing sense among railroaders that the roadbed problem cannot be neglected much longer. Warned Trini Guillen, southwest regional administrator for the Federal Railroad Administration: "We are playing Russian roulette." ■



Entrepreneur Leo Fox at Miami court

## The Sly Fox

*The painter was an illusion*

**A**t least seven C.J. Fox portraits of by-gone legislators hang in House committee rooms in Washington. A C.J. Fox painting of Brothers Charles and William Mayo is in Washington's National Portrait Gallery. In fact, the name C.J. Fox adorns the mediocre likenesses of hundreds of wealthy and famous Americans, both living and dead. They include Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, Publisher William Randolph Hearst, Oilman H.L. Hunt, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Up to \$7,000 apiece, the portraits are not cheap works of art. Nor were they painted by C.J. Fox, as was disclosed last week in a U.S. tax court in Miami by an extraordinary entrepreneur named Leo Fox.

In a sworn affidavit filed as part of his fight against an Internal Revenue Service bill for \$40,000 in back taxes, he said that the "C.J. Fox" paintings he has sold since the 1940s were actually painted by others. From 1972 to 1974 alone, admitted Fox, an obscure Manhattan artist named Irving Resnikoff, 81, turned out 139 "Foxes"—all from photographs of the subjects—for a fee of \$250 to \$300 apiece. By his own admission, Fox could not have



"Fox" portrait of Charles and William Mayo  
"I don't steal from the poor."

done the portraits if he tried; he cannot paint.

Sly Leo Fox, now in his 60s, pulled off his illusory act with remarkable ease. As part of his sales pitch, he circulated a brochure describing the imaginary Fox as the son of a well-known Austrian artist whose "guidance and expert tutelage was [the son's] inspiration." Fox portraits were always done from photographs, and sold as such. After a few well-placed sales, Fox's reputation spread by word of mouth. Said he: "I learned a way of being a good salesman. I don't steal from the poor." He even won some high praise. Ethel Kennedy wrote to say that she had been "moved" by his portrait of J.F.K. and was "looking forward" to his painting of her husband. Former Army Secretary Wilber M. Brucker called his own portrait "a tribute to both your artistic skill and powers of observation."

So far, none of Fox's clients has made any complaint. And Judge Samuel Sterrett will not decide for several weeks whether the real Fox owes \$40,000 to the IRS. ■



Howard Jarvis crusades for property-tax reform from his Los Angeles office

## Between the Pigs and the Swill

A California taxpayer revolt threatens official bankruptcy

**"A** gift-wrapped time bomb," says Los Angeles District Attorney John Van De Kamp.

"A disaster," says California State Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy.

"A chaotic disruption," says Los Angeles School Superintendent William Johnston.

"No matter how you slice it," says San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, "our police, our libraries, our fire department and schools would be crippled."

The reason for all these cries of alarm is Proposition 13, a measure that would limit California property taxes to 1% of the market value of all real estate, about one-third of current average rates. If approved by the voters on June 6—a strong possibility—the proposition would cost California officialdom about \$7 billion in annual tax revenues at the present level. It would also make it harder to raise other revenues because it would require a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature to impose new taxes.

Leader of the grass-roots campaign behind the amendment is Howard Jarvis, 75, a jowly, pipe-smoking ex-businessman who has made tax cutting a personal crusade for the past 15 years (the claims to have blocked 33 different local bond issues). "People just can't handle the burden any more," says he. "This is a government of, by and for the people, not the Government." A year ago, he and his Los Angeles-based United Organization of Taxpayers fell short by 1,200 names of the 500,000 signatures needed to put their property-tax amendment on the ballot. Last May he formed an alliance with the People's Advocate, headed by retired Real Estate Salesman Paul Gann, and tried again. By the end of the 150-day signature-gathering period prescribed by law, the petition papers were covered with a phenomenal 1.2 million signatures. Another 300,000 signed later to bring the total to 1.5 million—24% of the number of all those who actually voted in California in 1974.

The upsurge reflected increasing voter outrage over constantly rising property taxes, which climbed 48% to 120% in 1976 alone. "Let the politicians sweat to get their money from somewhere else," says Hal Rolfe, a Los Angeles real estate agent whose own taxes rose from \$900 to \$2,017 on his Topanga Canyon home and from \$540 to \$1,913 on his nearby office. A divorced housewife in Van Nuys, Phyllis Waldman, now pays \$1,568 rather than \$750; the home she purchased nine years ago for \$32,000 was revalued last July at \$100,000. A retired engineer in Sacramento, Don Hickman, pays \$600 rather than \$360. The house he bought for \$11,200 in 1952 is now valued at \$42,000.

"The Constitution talks about the rights of life, liberty and property, not food stamps, illegal aliens and welfare," Jarvis preaches at meetings up and down the state. He claims that although his 1% property-tax limit would not pay for social improvements, it would more than cover all property-related services, such as waste collection and fire protection. Reactionary? Jarvis doesn't mind the charge. In a 28-year career as head of a series of enterprises, the Utah-born Jarvis ranged from making electric irons to demagnetizing the hulls of combat ships to protect them from mines. Today Jarvis works out of a one-room office in downtown Los Angeles and has no organized political support. Says he: "I've been called a right-wing conservative, a tax gadfly, a tax protester, and now just plain radical." He dismisses his critics as "popcorn balls." Says he: "We have to have someone between the pigs and the swill bucket."

Democratic Governor Jerry Brown warned that the Jarvis amendment would replace "one monster with another." In an effort to avert this, he sponsored a rival proposition that would restrict tax cuts to homeowners, not commercial landowners, and the state legislature last week passed a bill that would compensate for such tax cuts with a subsidy from the state treasury. All the same, Howard Jarvis' monster kept spitting fire. ■

## Numbers Game

How many potholes are there?

**D**riving to work one wintry day, Richard Gaskill of Glenview, Ill., suddenly felt a sinking sensation. Result: two blown tires, two bent wheel rims, a lost hubcap and a bill for \$191.14. In Boston last week, it took 20 men to extricate Patrolman William Mahoney and his 1,000-lb horse from a 3 ft.-by-3 ft. crevass on a pathway in the city's Public Garden. In Manhattan, officials are watching claims briskly mount against the city as a result of damaged roadways.

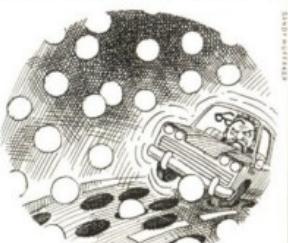
It is pothole time again, and after a frigid season of record snows, the nation's potholes appear to be of record size and quantity. The House has already voted to spend \$250 million to fill

them, and Joseph Ewing, research director of the Transportation Road Information Program in Washington, estimates the grand total of potholes to be filled at 116.4 million.

Where on earth does Ewing get such a number? Well, he adds up the tons of asphalt mix purchased by public works departments across the country: 6.4 million. Then he divides by the amount of fill required for the average pothole: 110 lbs. The resulting figure, of course, is no more than an elaborate guess. By similar magic, Ewing has figured out the cost of extra gas U.S. drivers will consume in swerving around the potholes: \$626 million.

Ewing should meet Jack Tessman, a physics professor at Massachusetts' Tufts University. To win a local television contest, the latter calculated the number of snowflakes that fell on Boston during February's monster storm. He multiplied the

average snowfall depth (27 in.) by the area of Boston (43 sq. mi.), then divided the result by the volume of the average snowflake ( $1/10,000$  cu. in.). Answer: 50 quadrillion ( $5 \times 10^{16}$ ) snowflakes. His prize: a Tessman family portrait—in snow. ■



## Time Essay

### Putting Congress on the Tube

After Canada's House of Commons installed television cameras and started recording its proceedings for the tube last fall, the tailors and barbers of Ottawa found themselves with an unexpected rush of parliamentary business. Members bought pastel-colored suits to brighten their images on the air. They had their hair styled. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau reverted to the Caesar cut that he wore in his triumphant 1968 campaign.

Now that the U.S. House of Representatives has decided to admit TV cameras to witness its daily business, House leaders fear that something more fundamental may be disrupted by the intrusion. They believe that the onlooking electronic eye, with its unpredictable and even mysterious refractions of reality, might be an alien influence, a distraction that could profoundly change the nature of the House—its procedures, its schedules, its public image, even the quality of the legislation it produces.

The House is less of a gentlemen's club than the Senate. It is more like, say, a parliamentary version of Stillman's Gym. But over two centuries it has evolved its own internal rhythms and intricate habits of doing business. Most of its work, for example, is accomplished in committee, not on the House floor. A visitor to the gallery is usually startled to find two-thirds of the seats empty; a transcendent tedium often reigns. As half a dozen members attend to the debate at hand, others read, amble, joke or even doze. It is not beyond the frontiers of possibility that a member might show up drunk, or threaten to punch another member. Into such an atmosphere, TV cameras would arrive like censorious missionaries landing on a pagan island.

The prospect makes the House very nervous. The question now is: Who shall control the cameras? Speaker Tip O'Neill, along with the seven-member subcommittee that studied the matter for the House, is adamant that the House should keep the cameras under its own supervision. Television, O'Neill and many other members sense, is too potent a presence to be allowed to graze freely amid such lush Americana. "I've talked to the Speaker of the Australian Parliament [which also televises] and the Speaker of the Canadian Parliament," says O'Neill. "They both told me: 'Don't let it out of your own control.'"

O'Neill and the House Rules Committee basically want to follow the Canadian example, with fixed cameras focusing on the three spots from which members officially speak during business: the Speaker's rostrum and the majority and minority tables. There would also be several movable cameras to provide different angles, but some fear that the whole system, if run by Government employees, would blinker off the surrounding atmospheres. The cameras would, in fact, provide a kind of visual *Congressional Record*—except of course that members would not be permitted to edit their remarks, as they often do now before the *Record* is printed. The TV tapes, or a live cable feed, would be made available to the commercial and public broadcast networks to edit and broadcast as they wished.

The Speaker understandably feels wary about what the cameras might do to the routines of the House. But it seems reclusive and contradictory to keep the public from obtaining a full view of the most democratic of federal processes. No doubt the presence of cameras recording the events can change the nature of the events themselves—a familiar law of the electronic age. Still, the change may not be as traumatic as some fear. It might even bring improvements. Congressional rhetoric might

become crisper, for example. Members, conscious of their new audience, might in some subtle way feel a sharpened sense of their responsibilities. Television would surely intensify public interest in Congress and the issues it is debating. But O'Neill and others in the House are superstitious about television: they crave its sweet attention while dreading its power.

The introduction of TV presents a variety of problems that will to some extent disrupt the House. Will the presence of TV cameras encourage members to avoid committees, where they should work, in favor of attention-getting oratory on the floor?

Or will members quickly become accustomed to the presence of cameras and simply go about their business as before? On a less substantive level, will members find it necessary to wear sunglasses against the bright lights—and thus make Congress look something like a Mafia meeting?

Forty-four state legislatures, the U.N. and several national parliaments have installed forms of TV coverage. In Canada, there were initial worries that the scanning cameras might catch members of Parliament yawning, scratching and looking unstatesmanlike; such shots were forbidden. The prohibition has not saved members at the caterwauling razz and table-thumping in which they engage. Says Media Mystagogue Marshall McLuhan: "It's preliterate behavior. People think they belong in a nuthouse."

A reasonable case can be made, as the TV networks and some members of the House argue, that within certain limits control of the coverage should be in the hands of TV journalists. The visual-record plan suggested by O'Neill raises some problems of credibility. Should those who are making the news be directing the cameras on the news? Says George Watson, vice president for ABC News in Washington: "It would be a dangerous precedent. What if the President decides he's tired of the unruly lot of cameramen that follows him everywhere he goes? Why shouldn't he just get the USIA to provide coverage for everybody?"

Most Congressmen wonder if the commercial networks could be trusted to be responsible in their coverage. TV cameras, after all, point instinctively toward the conflict, the noise, the humor. Might not, then, network TV provide an entirely skewed version of the day-to-day routines of the House, thereby turning what ought to be a meticulous daily record into a bedraggled Rashomon of contradiction?

Similar anxieties surfaced about the prospect of televising the House Judiciary Committee's hearings on the impeachment of Richard Nixon. Both commercial television and the committee members came away from that encounter looking rather nobler than usual. Commercial TV's record in public affairs, at least as a tactful witness if not as a commentator, has often been good and sometimes distinguished. The networks have risen to large occasions—the McCarthy hearings, assassinations, moon shots. Perhaps a prefiguration can be seen in the radio broadcasts of the Senate's Panama Canal debates. The broadcast of the debates has raised the tone and self-awareness of the speakers. If the networks established a pool system and followed certain rules of discretion laid down by the House management, the system would surely produce something better than the somewhat stolid and formal self-portrait that O'Neill suggests.

—Lance Morrow



# A Special Report

COVER STORY

## Socialism: Trials and Errors

*An ideology that promises more than it delivers*

**I**t began as an outcry against "the dark satanic mills" of early capitalism, a shuddering reaction against the profound upheavals caused by the Industrial Revolution, a reassertion of the utopian dream of the heavenly kingdom on earth. It sprang from obscure clubs, from workers' associations, from garrets, libraries, bourgeois parlors and, occasionally, aristocratic salons. It was hounded, reviled, extolled. It became the most pervasive political ideology—or slogan—of the 20th century. Socialism.

Today it seems to have reached new heights of influence. France nears the threshold of what Socialist Leader François Mitterrand calls "*l'expérience socialiste*"—and could cross it if the left wins this month's national elections. Italy faces the threat of the "historic compromise," which would bring Communists into government as partners of the long-ruling Christian Democrats. Socialist Mário Soares is Premier of Portugal, which until four years ago was a rightist dictatorship. Last year in Spain's first free national elections in more than four decades, the Socialist Workers Party of Felipe González emerged as the second most powerful political organization of the country's post-Franco era.

These dramatic developments in Western Europe are only the most recent examples of the global advances socialism has made in the decades following World War II. Today, self-proclaimed socialists of one variety or another rule 53 of the world's sovereign states, controlling 39% of its territory and 42% of its population. Such numbers alone can be misleading, for societies calling themselves socialist include Western-style democracies and repressive Communist dictatorships, constitutional republics and hereditary monarchies. Socialism is a flag of convenience that accommodates technocrats and market-minded economists, that allows fascist-type dictators or small-time Bonapartes to perpetuate themselves in power. It is politically chic to use the socialist label. Observes French Political Philosopher Raymond Aron: "In most countries, socialism carries the connotation that whatever is good is socialist, whatever is bad originates in capitalism." Adds Nobel-Prize-winning Economist Milton Friedman: "If for many, socialism implies egalitarianism and that people are living for society, while capitalism has been given the connotation of materialism, greedy, selfish, self-serving, and so on."

What gives socialist rhetoric much of its current appeal is the economic battering the world's economy has taken in the 1970s. Against the backdrop of seemingly incurable inflation, unemployment, industrial stagnation and volatile currencies, a clarion for an economic restructuring sounds attractive. Socialist states have not solved—only hidden or ameliorated—these problems. Ironically, at the very moment of its spectacular advances, socialism faces profound new crises of its own. At the same time socialism has become a word appropriated by so many different champions and causes that it threatens to become meaningless, and a new effort is needed to sort it out.

There is no universal model of socialism, just as there is none of free-market capitalism. As Rome University Historian Rosario Romeo puts it, "Everyone imagines socialism in his

own way." To Senegal's President Léopold Senghor, socialism is "the rational organization of human society according to the most scientific, the most modern and the most efficient methods." To Britain's Labor Prime Minister James Callaghan, it is "a society based on cooperation instead of competition." France's Mitterrand calls it "an *élan*, a collective movement—the communion of men in search of justice." In a more colloquial vein, a current hit song in Jamaica, pulsating with reggae beat, teaches: "Socialism is love for your brother/ Socialism is linking hearts and hands/ Love and togetherness—that's what it means."

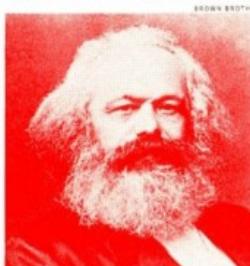
Despite its myriad and overlapping forms, socialism assumes three more or less familiar main varieties (case studies of the three follow this report), which can be summed up as:

**Marxism-Leninism**, frequently known as Communism, is the governing force in the Soviet Union and its East Bloc satellites, as well as in China, Mongolia, North Korea, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba, Albania and Yugoslavia. The most repressive variant of socialism, Marxism-Leninism is a kind of secular religion, preaching the necessity of class warfare, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the concentration of near total power in a tightly structured party that is supposedly the vanguard of the revolutionary masses. Communism is dogmatic in its determination to abolish private property and nationalize the means of production as the first steps toward achieving its ultimate goal, the classless society.

**Social democracy** is the most liberal version of socialism. Marxist-Leninists complain that social democrats are "bourgeois revisionists" and they have traditionally been the first victims of Communist coups. Social democrats can justly answer back that the "true socialists" of Moscow are dictators who have betrayed Marxism's humanistic vision. Alone or in coalitions, social-democratic leaders control the governments of Britain, West Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Norway, The Netherlands, Portugal—to cite only European examples. (Sweden's Social Democrats, after 44 years in power, were defeated in 1976 by a narrow margin.) Social democracy accepts a multi-party political system and believes in gradual, peaceful means of reaching its socialist goals. In practical terms, this has meant that social democrats have concentrated more on alleviating what they regard as hardships created by capitalist economies (unemployment, salary and wage inequities) than on directly restructuring societies according to a collectivist blueprint.

States ruled by social democrats are generally mixed economies, combining elements of free-enterprise competition with state ownership or direction of key industries. Some, most notably West Germany, are basically capitalist. Firmly rooted in the West, such social democracies as Norway and West Germany have more in common with the capitalist U.S. than has the U.S. with, say, capitalist states like Ecuador or the Ivory Coast.

**Third World socialism** embraces such disparate systems as the Islamic socialism preached by Algeria and Libya, the Baathist (Renaissance) socialism of Syria and Iraq, the *ujamaa* (familyhood) socialism of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, the



Socialism's archetype, Karl Marx



Three Communist leaders: China's Hua Kuo-feng (left); Soviet Union's Leonid Brezhnev (center); Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito



Social Democrats Soares of Portugal



Schmidt of West Germany



Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, the "Father of African socialism"



Algeria's Houari Boumedienne



Cuba's Fidel Castro

cooperative societies envisioned by Prime Ministers Michael Manley of Jamaica and Forbes Burnham of Guyana. Despite their great differences, these socialisms have several things in common. First, all these societies call themselves socialists, although their beliefs may be rooted less in Marxism than in nationalism or an indigenous phenomenon like the communalism of tribal Africa. Second, largely because of their experience with colonialism, they reject capitalism as identifiable with imperialism and exploitation. Third, they pursue policies aimed at decreasing the role of private property in the economy and sharply curbing investment by private foreign firms.

Despite all this diversity, socialists of whatever stripe have several ideals in common. One is the belief that if the means of production remain under the complete control of private owners, the worker will be exploited. Another is a firm commitment to egalitarianism, which the conservative historian Robert Strausz-Hupé calls "the strongest single element of modern society."

There are non-Marxian socialists, but all owe some debt to Karl Marx, who framed the classic socialist indictment of capitalism, accusing it of turning labor into a commodity and thus exploiting and dehumanizing workers while it enriches bourgeois owners. Most important, perhaps, was Marx's claim that he had discovered certain "scientific" laws of history. By creating an increasingly numerous and impoverished working class, goes his familiar argument, capitalism produced the very forces that one day would destroy it in an Apocalypse of violent revolution. This confident prediction, which for more than a century inspired nearly all socialists with a dual certainty—their cause is just, their triumph inevitable—has been transformed into a new, often hollow orthodoxy. It is now bitterly distrusted among disillusioned socialists themselves and by new, ideologically homeless radicals.

Socialism has spurred Western democracies to examine the inadequacies of the capitalist system. But today the record of socialism deserves even more careful scrutiny than that of capitalism. In whatever form, socialism makes far greater claims and far more sweeping promises than capitalism does, which is a major reason for its wide appeal. But socialism rarely lives up to its promises. Stalin's Gulag and Mao's violent Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—which represents socialism in its extreme form—give the lie to the Marxist claim that it is necessarily capitalism and not socialism that enslaves the human spirit. Economically, socialism has logged impressive achievements, sometimes against tremendous odds. Yet in comparing neighboring countries where one is socialist and the other is not (North Korea v. South Korea, Tanzania v. Kenya), the statistical evidence almost always favors the nonsocialist nation.

Socialism's political momentum in Europe and its mounting popularity elsewhere prompt a careful and balanced examination of what socialists have achieved once in power. Following is such an analysis, focusing on socialism's promise

## THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

- Marxist-Leninist
  - Social Democratic (party in power)
  - Third World Socialist
  - Mixed Economy
  - Capitalist
- Per capita G.N.P.  
▲ Physical Quality of Life Index  
● Political Freedom Index



### LEGEND

**Economic System.** Countries are classified according to the criteria explained in the accompanying Special Report. For example, a mixed-economy state, governed by social democrats, is shown as social democratic.

**Gross National Product.** A widely accepted barometer of economic achievement, cited in U.S. dollars per capita according to preliminary 1976 World Bank data.

**Physical Quality of Life Index.** A measure of the effectiveness of social services, developed by the Overseas Development Council. In Washington's P.Q.L.I., the P.Q.L.I. includes life expectancy, literacy and infant mortality.

**Political Freedom Index.** A measure of a nation's respect for liberty, compiled from studies of civil and political rights prepared by Manhattan-based Freedom House.

The P.Q.L.I. and Political Freedom Index are scaled up to 100, which signifies the best possible performance.

compared with performance in four key areas:

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

All socialists reject what they consider the wasteful anarchy of the capitalist marketplace and seek in different ways to put order into the economy. Most argue that controls or central planning will lead to increased output, more equitable distribution of goods, and a concentration of resources in socially useful production. Explains Claude Estier, a national secretary of the French Socialist Party: "We consider it necessary to direct the economy toward the general interest rather than toward the interests of a small number of capitalists."

With their Five-Year Plans and all-

embracing command of industry and agriculture, Communist states can point to many significant achievements. Especially dramatic have been the economic gains of the Soviet Union: in six decades a war-shattered society in the earliest stages of industrialization has been transformed into a military superpower that produces more steel, crude oil, manganese and honey than the U.S. Another Marxist-Leninist state, East Germany, now ranks as the world's 17th industrial power (measured by gross national product), while China's Communists seem to have banished the specter of recurring famine.

There are, however, serious flaws in the Marxist-Leninist economic system. Communist countries say they have abolished unemployment—but at the cost of

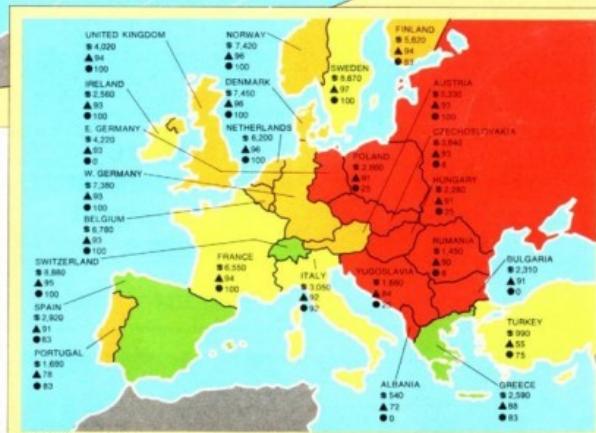
heavily overstaffing every office and factory with workers who seldom can be fired for failing to produce. Bureaucratic controls further cripple efficiency, and managers have little leeway for innovation. Consumer goods are still shoddy and chronically scarce. Long lines form immediately in Warsaw, Prague, Havana, Moscow and other Communist cities at rumors that a shop is about to receive a shipment of such coveted goods as shoes, fresh fish or fruit. Communist leaders boast that their citizens are immune to inflation; but, in fact, continual price hikes are merely artfully concealed by an economy in which wages, prices and even the kinds of goods available are set by the state. For instance, the "official" cost of an item can remain stable for years, but



the product may be available only on the black (or gray) market and at a substantial premium.

One problem that virtually every Marxist-Leninist state faces is lagging agricultural output. Almost invariably, collectivizing or communalizing farms deadens initiative. Food productivity thus remains low, despite enormous investments in farm machinery and irrigation systems. Although 85% of Poland's farm land remains in private hands, output is poor because low official prices provide no incentive for the farmer to work harder.

Yugoslavia seems to have the fewest economic problems among Marxist-Leninist states. It also has the least rigidly controlled economy in Eastern Europe.



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roads we need!"**



## Socialism

although Hungary is also testing innovative ways. Much Yugoslav economic planning and management has been decentralized. Initiative, hard work and quality output have been rewarded with generous bonuses and wage hikes. As a result, Yugoslav plants vastly outperform the state-owned enterprises in most other Communist-ruled countries. They also turn out an abundance of consumer products that make Belgrade, Zagreb and other large Yugoslav cities look more West European than Balkan.

Because social democrats have mostly come to power in industrially advanced and politically democratic nations, they have been cautious in their efforts to change existing systems by, for example, nationalizing economies. Says French Socialist Economist Jacques Attali: "Socialism is not measured by the size of the public sector." Notes a leading Swedish banker: "Our socialists don't care who owns the cow so long as the government gets most of the milk." Social democrats manage to do this by steep progressive taxes on income (up to 98% in Britain, 72% in The Netherlands and 85% in Sweden), capital gains, profits and inheritances. They also have been steadily eroding the prerogatives of ownership. Example: British and Dutch laws make it difficult for management to fire workers.

Proprietors will be facing even tighter restrictions if several social-democratic governments go ahead with plans to give workers a major voice in management. Although employee representatives already sit on boards of directors and management committees in Denmark, West Germany, Sweden and other Western European states, their powers could be expanded considerably under some pending proposals. One model for these schemes is Yugoslavia's Workers' Self-Management system, in which employees technically own their factories and, through workers' councils, have a voice in setting wage levels, dividing profits, planning investments and firing executives.

**T**here are, however, increasing fears that social democracy's near confiscatory tax policies, by reducing rewards, already have begun to discourage incentive and innovation. They seem to be undermining the Calvinist work ethic in The Netherlands, spurring absenteeism and creating what sociologists have derisively labeled *Afweigheidsbehoefte*—literally, the need to be absent (from the job).

Emerging from colonialism, many Third World states turned to socialism as much from necessity as ideology, because it seemed the only way to solve their economic problems. There was, for example, only a small Arab and Berber middle class to replace the French as an entrepreneurial force after Algeria had gained independence. In any case, most Third World socialists have insisted on nationalization of manufacturing, mining and agriculture,

and have placed economies under centralized controls. But the results have often been disappointing. TIME Correspondent Lee Griggs, who has reported from developing countries for most of the past two decades, writes: "The socialist regimes have made some contributions to economic growth. Somalia has built ports and Iraq's Baathists are installing an extensive irrigation network. But government management of production has been poor and in many cases corrupt; without material incentives, productivity has plummeted. While a population explosion has led to a net decline in the living standard for nearly all African states, it has been most pronounced in those espousing socialism."

Guineans, for instance, face constant shortages. Much of what is produced is smuggled into neighboring countries and sold for more than double the price permitted by Guinea's unrealistic controls. In Zambia, under what President Kenneth Kaunda calls "humanistic social-



**Classroom in Ceiba del Agua, Cuba**  
*One promise that socialism has kept.*

ism," a severe housing shortage has developed. Reason: laws have made landholding so uncertain that there is no incentive to invest in real estate.

No Third World country has fared worse under socialism than Burma. Its 16 years on the "Burmese Way to Socialism" have turned what was once the lush rice bowl of Asia into an international pauper. Government policies have led the peasant to produce only what his family needs. As a result, rice output fell from 1.9 million tons in 1962 to 530,000 tons in 1976. Even Buddhist monks have suffered: their robes are a dull, dusty maroon instead of the traditional bright orange, because controls prevent the Burmese from producing saffron dye.

The legitimate achievements of Third World socialist states in building economies often suffer by comparison with what has been done by nonsocialist countries once in similar circumstances. Kenya is a case in point. Although it lacks significant natural resources, it has one

of black Africa's most successful economies. Its secret: limiting the government's role in the marketplace, encouraging the development of a black middle class and welcoming foreign investment. Poverty exists, to be sure, as does corruption, but Kenyans live better than their neighbors in Tanzania (see chart).

### LIBERTY AND FREEDOMS

Wage slavery. Exploitation. Alienation. These are some of the indictments that socialists have routinely hurled at capitalism. Promising to end these and other forms of repression, socialists have long claimed that their ideology is synonymous with true freedom. Excepting social democracy, the historical record argues the opposite. Instead of greater liberty, Marxism-Leninism and Third World socialism invariably lead to authoritarian one-party and even one-man rule.

Explains California Political Scientist Chalmers Johnson: "Socialist regimes produce welfare, economic wealth, but are underdeveloped politically. Most of them eliminate any concept of citizenship. In America, we assume that every adult has a political life. Under socialism, there is a monopoly of politics." The authoritarian socialist might retort that politics means little to a hungry, unemployed worker. But even for members of the American underclass, seemingly mired in perpetual poverty, political rights offer a potential way for making their grievances heard and eventually, perhaps, redressed. While it is true that capitalism's corporations and other interest groups exercise great power over the individual, they are far less potent than the tiny cliques that monopolize power in the Marxist-Leninist and Third World socialist states.

To be sure, the social-democratic governments of Western Europe and elsewhere have consistently demonstrated their respect for gradualism, the parliamentary process and human rights. Says a leading Italian Socialist Senator, Aldo Ajello: "Oh sure, our future ideals are the usual ones: a classless society, worker control of the means of production, overcoming capitalism. But these ideals have to be realized with human liberty. This comes before anything else."

Even so, social democracy presents some potentially worrisome threats to liberties. Ambitious economic and social programs have created burgeoning bureaucracies that threaten to mushroom, becoming much larger than those in non-socialist states. Arbitrary bureaucratic decisions can and do restrict individual freedoms and initiatives. Most West German M.D.s on hospital staffs are not permitted to build private practices, while Norwegians wishing to build cabins in the mountains usually have to spend a year untangling red tape.

These infringements on freedom are minor compared with those imposed by Marxist-Leninist regimes. Freedom of



## Socialism

speech is guaranteed in the Soviet constitution but is in fact unknown; any serious critic of the regime is harassed, imprisoned and sometimes even threatened with execution. Strikes do not occur because they would ruthlessly be suppressed. All organs of information and communication are subverted to the purposes of the state.

When accused of violating human rights, Marxist-Leninists have usually reported that once true Communism is established, the dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear, leaving the individual genuinely free for the first time. Meanwhile, though, these facts raise hard questions about the true intentions of the so-called Eurocommunist parties of Italy, France and Spain: after decades of being apologists for totalitarianism, they now profess their commitments to democratic principles. Purged from their platforms is the once obligatory rhetoric calling for violent revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat. Italian Communist Party Boss Enrico Berlinguer has said that under his party, "the system must remain that of liberty and individual rights, representative democracy that has its center in the parliament, pluralism of parties and alternating parties in the government."

But many analysts wonder about the sincerity of the conversion. Warns French Pundit Aron: "As long as these parties resemble an army of militants under the authority of a few, as long as they are prepared to do an about-turn either to the right or left when so ordered, no one will take even their most solemn declarations literally." Even if the Berlinguers are sincere, it is far from certain that once they are in office their views would continue to prevail over those of their colleagues, many of whom are Stalinists.

The record on liberty of some Third World socialists is no better than that of the Marxist-Leninists. Tanzania's prisons contain about 1,500 opponents of Nyerere's regime. Mozambique's socialist rulers have herded up to 10,000 "undesirables," including political dissidents, into primitive "re-education camps." Iraq's xenophobic Baathist socialists have not held national elections since they came to power in 1968, and any critic of the Ahmed Hassan Bakr regime is quickly arrested by the Soviet-trained secret police.

There are, of course, nonsocialist countries that grossly violate civil and political rights. Witness Iran, Chile or Haiti. Yet it is surely more than coincidence that the only functioning democracies are found in capitalist or mixed-economy states, while authoritarianism is firmly installed in every socialist country, with the exception of the social democracies. This has prompted deep self-searching by many socialists. Says Asoka Mehta, India's leading socialist thinker: "Socialism is an attractive goal, but concentration of power is as dangerous as concentration of capital." Oxford Research Fellow Lesz-

ek Kolakowski, a dedicated socialist who left Poland in 1968, says, "One cannot discuss the socialist idea today as if nothing has happened since the idea was born. [In Eastern Europe] we expropriated the owners, and we created one of the most monstrous and oppressive social systems in world history."

Despair over totalitarianism has inspired dissident movements within the Marxist-Leninist states. East German Party Apparatchik Rudolf Bahro has dared to argue that a variety of Marxist groups should be allowed to challenge the Communist Party's power monopoly. A similar kind of Marxist pluralism has also been advocated by Jacek Kuron, a leading member of Poland's Committee for the Self-Defense of Society. This dissident organization has successfully pressured

KNOBELL



*Soviet cartoon satirizing bribery:  
I'll be perfectly open with you.*

Warsaw to release jailed protesters. Meantime, a loose group of dissident Czechoslovak intellectuals, Charter '77, has demanded—to no avail—that the regime in Prague begin to respect the human rights guaranteed by its laws.

All these "slanderers of socialism," as their regimes have dubbed them, accept socialism as an ideal, maintaining that it need not be repressive. A group of young French leftist intellectuals known as the "New Philosophers" are not so certain. Bernard-Henri Lévy, 28, one of the movement's most prolific members, has concluded that Stalinism, rather than being an aberration, "is a mode of socialism. Gulag is not an accident." At fault, he argues, is socialism's obsession with homogeneity, "expelling from its borders the forces of heterogeneity and... squelching its rebels." Compared with socialism's seemingly intrinsic dangers, capitalism seems a lesser evil to some of the New Philosophers. Admits Lévy: "Between the barbarity of capitalism, which censures itself much of the time, and the barbarity of socialism, which does not, I guess I might choose capitalism."

### QUALITY OF LIFE

Near the top of the agenda of every socialist regime are elaborate programs for improving health care and expanding educational facilities. These states can boast that infant mortality has dropped dramatically, life expectancy is on the rise, and illiteracy is gradually being conquered. In short, state-provided social services are one promise that socialism has kept.

When Fidel Castro's forces triumphed in Cuba in 1959, nearly one-quarter of the population could neither read nor write. Compulsory primary education and an ambitious classroom construction program have reduced illiteracy to 4%. Cuban infant mortality is 29 per 1,000 and average life expectancy is 70 years. By contrast, the nearby Dominican Republic has a 32% illiteracy rate, infant mortality of 98 per 1,000 and an average life expectancy of only 58 years.

In China, the crash training of legions of doctors, nurses and paramedics and the founding of rural health centers have nearly eradicated cholera, plague and other diseases that for centuries had periodically ravaged the population. Similar efforts are now under way in Mozambique. The Marxist Frelimo regime has set up free health clinics in many villages for combating such chronic problems as malnutrition, malaria and tuberculosis.

Eastern European states offer free education (although the Communist parties have a great deal to say about who is admitted to the universities) and comprehensive health care. Sickness seldom imposes horrendous financial burdens on patients. The Physical Quality of Life Index (see map) shows that the essential human services provided by Marxist-Leninist states often match and sometimes top those in Western democracies.

The extensive network of social services known as the welfare state or the socialist net is the most distinctive achievement of social-democratic rules. Thanks to it, Swedes, for example, get cradle-to-grave coddling. They receive an annual allowance of \$437 for each child, tuition-free education through college, free hospital care, sick pay amounting to 90% of normal wages, and a retirement pension equal to 60% of the average income of a worker's 15 highest paid years.

In Britain, the Labor Party has enacted laws that provide, among other things, free family planning, maternity allowances, income supplements, retirement pensions, and health care that includes treatment for alcoholism and drug addiction. There are, however, often very long waits for admission to hospitals, and treatment is increasingly impersonal.

Socialist regimes have done no better than capitalist ones in solving some of civilization's most persistent problems. Crimes of violence, like muggings, are less common in Marxist-Leninist countries than in the West. This is because the omnipresent police, constantly watching for any signs of opposition to the regime, also

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at Kennedy Center**

## Socialism

maintain strict law-and-order. But even they cannot halt all lawlessness. Juvenile delinquency (usually referred to as "hooliganism") has been on the upswing in recent years in the Marxist-Leninist nations, including China, where there are frequent gang fights.

Corruption, black marketeering, bribery and theft are endemic in Communist states, in part because inefficient economies cannot satisfy the popular demand for goods and services. In the Soviet Union, workers steal material and tools from factories after bribing the guards, while managers of retail outlets find that they do not receive merchandise they have ordered unless they pay off warehouse supervisors and deliverymen.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the situation is not much better. Reports TIME Correspondent David Aikman: "In buying a car, bribery is nearly a recognized means of avoiding an interminable wait—up to eight years in East Germany for some models. Obtaining an official document like a driver's license in Rumania routinely requires an endless series of small payoffs—perhaps a package of American-made cigarettes deposited on the desk of each of the many bureaucrats whose approvals are needed. Medical care is supposed to be free. But demand so exceeds supply that in Rumania it is often necessary to pay doctors or hospital administrators just to get a bed, sometimes even for an urgent operation."

There is little drug addiction in the East bloc—vigilant police and stiff sentences for dealers take care of that—but alcoholism is rampant. The Soviet Union is dotted with sobering-up stations, while in Polish cities drunks can be seen staggering through the streets at just about any hour. Cramped living quarters in the Soviet Union seem to affect the stability of family life; divorce rates are soaring and nearly 50% of all marriages fail in big cities like Moscow and Kiev.

### EQUALITY AND THE NEW ELITE

The moral imperative of socialism is egalitarianism. Philosophically, socialism's challenge to capitalism rests on the premise that there is something inherently unjust about the gulf between rich and poor, between privilege and deprivation. Perhaps Marx's most utopian promise was that at the end of the revolutionary process, when the true Communist society emerged, the relationship between work and reward would be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Some ruling socialists take this rhetoric seriously. In radically socialist South Yemen, civil servants' salaries have been cut and luxury goods banned. Under Julius Nyerere's firm socialist hand, Tan-

zania has been turned into one of the world's most egalitarian societies. The steeply progressive personal taxes of most social democracies, meanwhile, are a way of redistributing wealth.

But in the Marxist-Leninist states, egalitarianism is an empty slogan and socialist rule has become more a dictatorship of praetorians than of the proletariat. In a famous 1957 diatribe, Yugoslav Dissident Milovan Djilas railed against the privileges accorded a "new class" of Communists—party hierarchs, ranking bureaucrats, managers of state enterprises, and superstars in the arts and sports.

**T**he rewards of the new class are not necessarily monetary. The manager of a Soviet chemical plant or the director of a scientific research institute earns about 508 rubles (\$726) a month, while President Leonid Brezhnev makes an estimated 2,900 rubles (\$4,150). These are mere pittances compared with the \$250,000 annual salaries of Jimmy Carter and the chief ex-

senior officials have their own villas and even relatively low party functionaries drive automobiles and receive a generous gasoline allowance. The son of Communist Party Boss Nicolae Ceausescu races around Bucharest in a sleek Mercedes sports coupé. The perks for the Polish elite include special schools for their children and access to luxurious vacation camps and ski resorts. Traffic literally stops for East Germany's new class; at the approach of the imported Volvo limousines carrying the party's top brass, police halt all other movement on the streets.

Not even classless China is exempt from the new elitism. After Mao's 1949 triumph, Chinese Communist leaders immediately moved into villas expropriated from capitalist tycoons and, among other things, designated Peitaiho, one of the country's best seaside resorts, as their exclusive playground. Chauffeured cars ferry the wives of high-ranking Chinese cadres to exclusive shops and their children to special schools. Recent denunci-

### SOCIALISM V. CAPITALISM: A COMPARISON OF NATIONS

COUNTRIES	GROWTH RATE IN REAL G.N.P. PER CAPITA 1970-75	PER CAPITA PUBLIC SPENDING ON EDUCATION	PER CAPITA PUBLIC SPENDING ON HEALTH	HOURS OF WORK TO BUY A PAIR OF SHOES	RADOS PER 1,000	AUTOS PER 1,000	CALORIES PER CAPITA PER DAY
N. KOREA	0.9	\$11.6	\$11.6	39	66	1.0	2,664
S. KOREA	8.2	35.0	4.9	25	144	7.0	2,715
CHINA	5.3	10.0	2.0	20	16	0.1	2,330
TAIWAN	5.7	47.0	20.0	7	240	22.5	2,791
TANZANIA	2.9	5.2	2.5	8	16	2.5	2,002
KENYA	2.4	14.4	5.4	8	40	11.0	2,114
U.S.S.R.	3.1	136.4	155.8	18	461	18.5	3,542
U.S.A.	1.6	401.7	273.4	3	1,895	512.9	3,504

Latest available figures

ecutive officer of the average large U.S. corporation. But because Marxist-Leninist societies are short of goods, a comfortable life-style depends less on money than on privileged access to scarce materials and services. In capitalist or mixed economies, by contrast, money usually provides access to luxury.

Reports TIME Moscow Bureau Chief Marsh Clark: "The elite here have more of the good things of life vis-a-vis their average countrymen than do the West's richest businessmen in relation to a man on welfare. In the Soviet Union, various grades of apparatchiks have access to special stores that sell imported and otherwise scarce goods at very low prices. Behind a door marked 'Office of Passes' on Granovsky Street not far from the Kremlin, a windowless emporium offers a cornucopia of meats, fruits, vegetables and imported delicacies to the *shishki* (big shots). The average Ivan and Natasha, however, never see such a selection of goods in the stores at which they must shop. When the *shishki* become ill, they go to the Kremlin Polyclinic for medical care vastly superior to that available to their fellow countrymen."

Adds TIME's Aikman: "In Rumania,

actions of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's now disgraced widow, have emphasized her sybaritic tastes: she had two villas in Peking's Summer Palace, feasted on exotic birds' nests for days at a time, and dressed her Pekinese puppies in vests made of costly imported fabrics.

Citizens of Communist states are well aware that their rulers give only lip service to Marxism's egalitarian ideals. But all they can do is complain and joke. One popular story in the Soviet Union tells of Party Boss Brezhnev inviting his mother to his elegant villa in the Crimea. He shows her the lavish furnishings, his yachts, art treasures and the fleet of foreign cars he has received as gifts from visiting heads of state. After a table-groaning banquet, he asks: "Well, Mama, what do you think? Not bad for your little boy?" To which the old woman replies: "My son, it's very impressive. But what if the Communists come to power?"

Despite socialism's achievements, some thinkers who accept the ideology have reservations about how well it is working. Most troubling is the apparent lesson of history that the more the state, in whatever form, attempts to control society, for whatever desirable end, the



## Socialism

more the individual is smothered. Noted the late George Lichtheim, an internationally respected historian of socialism: "The kind of central planning that vests all control in a political bureaucracy is unlikely to be efficient, and it is certain to be destructive of freedom... If socialism were to become permanently identified with the kind of life imposed after 1945 on Eastern Europe, few sane people would want it." Quite apart from Eastern Europe, any attempt to achieve egalitarianism poses a threat to freedom. Since people are not equal in ability, the naturally gifted minority cannot be expected to voluntarily forfeit the extra rewards earned by its efforts.

Pragmatically recognizing the key role that capitalist initiative plays in dynamic economies, some ruling socialists have taken steps toward encouraging freer enterprise. Britain's Labor government, for instance, is planning to announce efforts to stimulate individual initiative and investment. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has angered the radical wing of his Social Democratic Party by braking the rate of pension increases and halting the planning of new ambitious welfare schemes, like a costly increase in health benefits. To stop a headlong plunge into bankruptcy, Portugal's Socialist Premier Mário Soares has been uncomfortably forced to restore to private ownership farms confiscated after the 1974 revolution.

Some Third World regimes are also having second thoughts about socialism. Peru was pushed to the edge of bankruptcy by seven years of Peruvian socialism concocted by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, who was ousted in 1975. The country's new military rulers have substantially modified Velasco laws under which workers would have been able to wrest control of firms from their owners.

Egypt's President Anwar Sadat still pays lip service to the economically crippling Arab socialism of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Sadat, however, has been edging toward a mixed economy by offering generous tax breaks to encourage investment by individual Egyptians and foreigners. Even Guinea's Sékou Touré, the self-styled "terror of imperialism," recently promised to relax a ban on private enterprise in order to lure foreign capital.

Such developments mean that socialism is on the wane? Probably not. Socialism certainly will live on as what some of its European advocates have called a "permanent experiment." The Social Democratic defeat in Sweden did not involve any shrinking of the social services. In the

Western social democracies, burgeoning bureaucracies will probably be viewed by voters as acceptable trade-offs for the security provided by a welfare state. As for the U.S.S.R.'s East bloc satellites, Aron concludes: "I find that there are no grounds for thinking that the leaderships of the Hungarian, Polish or Czechoslovak parties, once freed from the grasp of Soviet Russia, would convert to freedom of their own accord and renounce all, or important parts, of their power. As long as the Red Army tanks assure the permanence of their reign, they improve their brand image in the eyes of the governed, acquiring a partial legitimacy through concessions to popular aspirations and tinkering with ideological conformance."

For Third World countries, socialism, as one U.S. State Department analyst explains, is almost certain to remain "blueprint." Another American diplomat, William B. Young, points out that "in many less developed countries, only the govern-

had never agreed to the vaccination."

Nonsocialist societies, in fact, have done their own share of vaccinating and know the ache of a sore arm. Americans for decades have enjoyed Social Security and disability programs and unemployment benefits, to say nothing of the world's most extensive system of government-supported colleges and universities. Partly as a result, the U.S., like other industrial democracies, has begun to suffer the pains of a mushrooming bureaucracy.

**E**ven the most libertarian governments, moreover, meddle with the marketplace, if only by regulating the money supply, setting import duties and granting tax advantages to selected economic sectors. But unlike the socialist, who sees the state as the main engine of social change, the capitalist views such interference as an unfortunate but necessary compromise with an ideal. Recognition of necessity and stirrings of conscience will continue to spur the capitalist to embrace some of those demands for social justice advanced by socialists.

In his ongoing debate with the socialist, the capitalist is at a disadvantage, unable to compete rhetorically with socialist idealism. In place of state control, the capitalist argues for the unpredictable mechanism of the marketplace. It may be a flawed instrument, but there is ample evidence that it provides the most efficient allocation of the globe's scarce resources, as well as

material incentive for individual hard work and creativity. Instead of a noble "new man," capitalism offers only the "old man," whose self-interest in profit—even though it may be condemned as greed—will ultimately benefit the commonweal. When assessed this way, it is no surprise that the capitalist reality can be made to sound less appealing than the socialist dream.

A strong argument can be made that capitalism, by acknowledging the primal power of self-interest and recognizing the disparities among human beings, accurately reflects life's realities, and that socialism is fundamentally utopian. The socialist vision, which in its Marxist version is cloaked as a "scientific" law of history, suggests that under a right and just system all men can become the secular equivalent of saints, choosing to work in harmony for a common goal. The quintessential capitalist, whether or not he is religious, rejects the idea of man's perfectibility on earth and asks the socialist this question: If and when men become saints, socialism might indeed be able to fulfill its promise; but if sanctity were universal, would there be any need for socialism?



Communism in practice: lining up to buy sausages in Poland

But for the "big shots," a cornucopia of imported delicacies.

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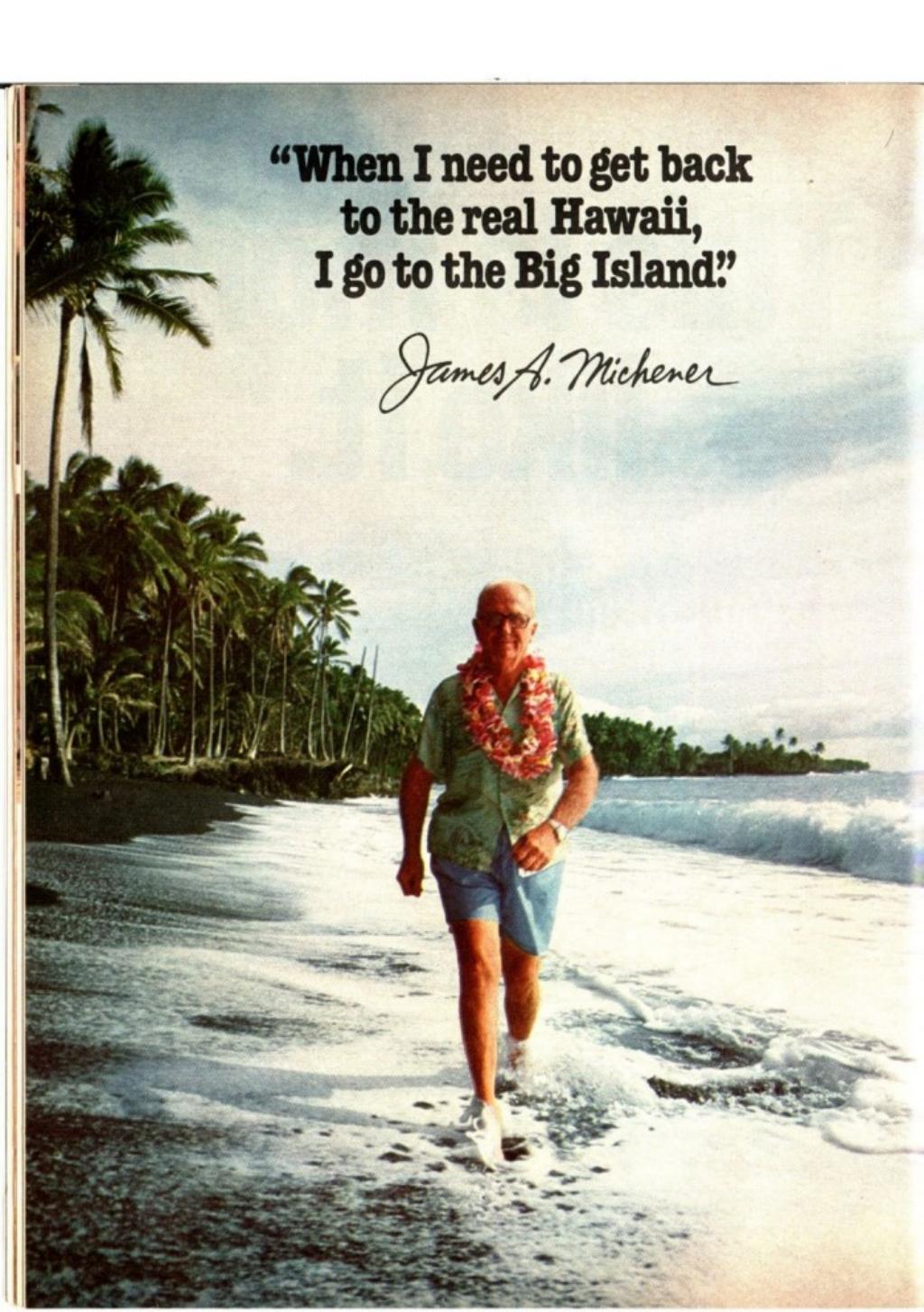
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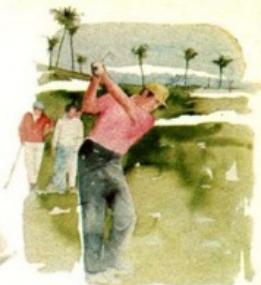
A color photograph of James A. Michener walking along a sandy beach. He is wearing a green short-sleeved shirt, blue shorts, white sneakers, and a vibrant red, yellow, and pink floral lei around his neck. He is looking towards the camera with a slight smile. The beach is lined with tall palm trees on the left, and the ocean with white-capped waves is on the right. The sky is a clear, pale blue.

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*James A. Michener*



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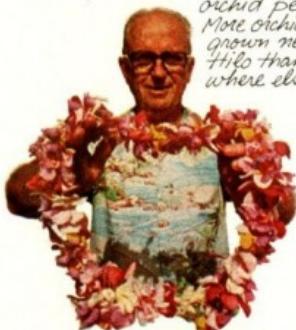
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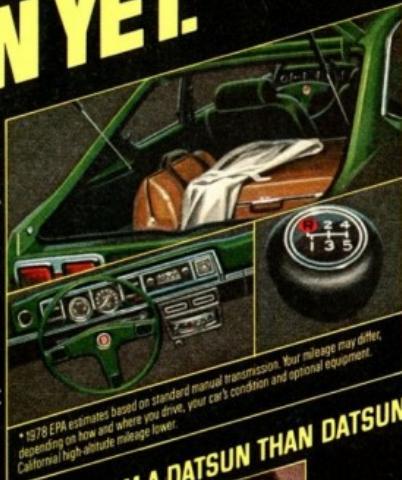
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## Socialism

### Norway: The Cost of Safety

*The good life and a struggle against red tape*

**O**n late summer afternoons, fleets of private boats jam the Oslofjord; in winter, thousands of Norwegians spend their weekends on the country's ski slopes or on quick trips to resorts in balmy Spain. About 75% of all Norwegian families own their homes and close to half also have vacation retreats—a cottage on the coast or a cabin in the mountains. The humble Volkswagen has been dethroned as king of the road, replaced as Norway's best-selling car by the more luxurious Volvo.

With a per capita G.N.P. of \$7,420, Norway has one of the world's highest living standards. Whether such bounty results mostly from the drive of 4 million people injured to hard work in a cold, rugged land or primarily from the social-democratic policies pursued by the ruling Labor Party of Premier Odvar Nordli is unclear even to Norwegians. Confesses Sverre Badendyck, a retired sea captain now employed as a shipping inspector: "We think we live in a capitalist country. Or at least in one with a mixed economy, with a socialist government trying to make it more socialist. But we honestly don't know what we have."

Norway tolerates a considerable amount of free enterprise. All but 9% of industry remains in private hands, although the fledgling North Sea oil industry is state-owned. Nonetheless, one of the world's most comprehensive welfare states has been fashioned by the Labor Party, in power for 36 of the past 43 years.

The *folketrygden* (people's security) law grants everyone disability, old-age and survivors' benefits, rehabilitation assistance and unemployment payments. Other measures provide free hospitalization, surgery and medicines. Youngsters through the ninth grade receive dental care at their schools at no cost. Every worker is guaranteed at least four weeks of paid vacation.

Taxation rather than nationalization has been Labor's method of building Norway's socialism, which the party defines as "equality among all individuals and groups." Steeply progressive personal taxes (50% for a couple earning \$30,000) have helped to level incomes. Says Christian Erlandsen, managing director of an Oslo auto parts firm: "After taxes the difference between me and the lowest-paid guy at this company is not very great. You can't look at just income; you must look at other values. We have our cabins, our spare time. What may be most important to me is my feeling of safety. I'm not thinking of crime as much as of health

and retirement benefits. If I were to die now, for example, my wife and 15-month-old son would get 80% of my present income for some time. That's safety."

Business earnings are also heavily taxed: 30% by the national government and 20% by municipalities. Explains Erlandsen: "The highest cost my firm has is its tax cost. To reduce our tax burden, we share profits with our employees or reinvest them somehow." One of the most common means of sharing is to give employees valuable but tax-exempt "perks," such as trips to mountain resorts and the use of company-owned cars and houses.

The Labor Party tries to regulate what



**Norwegian family skiing near their mountain cabin**  
*Barter, "black labor" and a feeling of safety.*

it does not tax. Although farm land remains in private hands, most farmers have been put under legal and financial pressure to join state-dominated cooperative marketing groups.

The government's most ambitious attempt to restructure the economy while permitting private ownership has been to give workers a voice in corporate management. A 1972 scheme for "industrial democracy" requires all firms with more than 200 employees to give worker representatives one-third of the votes in the new "corporate assemblies" that replaced the traditional shareholders meeting. Another idea being contemplated by the Labor Party is the "Gjest Baardsen fund," named after the legendary Norwegian version of Robin Hood. Like its name-

sake, the scheme would take money from successful companies and give it to unprofitable ones for salary hikes. Still other future programs would, according to Premier Nordli, continue slashing "differences in pay, wealth and other advantages."

There are signs that Norwegians worry about too much socialism. The growing tax burden apparently prompted segments of the working class to vote conservative in the last two parliamentary elections. A more widespread form of protest is tax evasion. One method is to avoid cash transactions whenever possible. A clothier and a farmer, for example, exchange a new suit and a side of beef: a dentist fills the teeth of an auto mechanic in return for a car lubrication. Another method is "black labor." Example: a company wishing to redecorate its offices pays cash for the work, but does not record the transaction; the decorator pockets the entire amount, while the firm writes off the expense as damaged or stolen goods.

Although Norwegians have no intention of dismantling their social net, they are becoming increasingly irritated at its red tape. Says Ragnhild Braathen, a Telemark housewife: "The regular citizen struggles against a wall of bureaucracy. People have waited 20 years before receiving their disability pensions. I know a woman who applied for 'single provider assistance.' She is still waiting for an answer and her 'child' is now 35 years old." Complains Kjell Lorentsen, a schoolmaster in northern Norway: "Responsibility for any decision seems to dissolve into powder."

Norwegian economists fear that the state's generosity may be adversely affecting the country's economy. Norway's production costs are already the globe's highest and in large part are responsible for the country's more than \$5 billion trade deficit last year. Passage of the Robin Hood fund would make matters worse by penalizing efficient and innovative enterprises. High taxes discourage overtime work, while generous sick pay spurs absenteeism, which has doubled in recent years. On the average, 10% of the work force now stay away from the job daily, and in some plants the figure reaches 20%.

Surveying the costs of the welfare state, a businessman confesses: "I'm a little bit scared of the future." Still, Norway's variant of socialism stands a good chance of thriving—if only because of potential benefits of North Sea oil. Like the petro-socialists in Libya, Iraq and Algeria, Norway's Labor Party can count on bankrolling its welfare measures with its oil earnings. This is a route to democratic socialism which few other societies have the luxury of imitating. ■

## Socialism

### Tanzania: Awaiting the Harvest

#### Points and penalties in a poor society

The huts in Luhanga are made of mud and thatch, the roads are no more than dusty alleys. A village of about 2,500 inhabitants, Luhanga is an archetypical example of how President Julius Nyerere intends to build a Tanzanian socialism based on Africa's traditional extended family.

Reports TIME Correspondent David Wood: "Luhanga, in contrast to many Tanzanian villages, is well on its way to Nyerere's socialist goal. The volunteer village militia combats crime, the village-owned dispensary and clinic combat disease, the village-owned furniture shop and tinsmithy combat unemployment. A women's cooperative sells milk and soft drinks, while profits from the village's enterprises fund a school and day-care center. Although each family has a private *Shamba* (plot) on which to grow its own food, its members are encouraged to work in the communal enterprises. Instead of pay, they receive 'points,' which entitle them to a share of the profits from the village's communal projects. There is no television, but on several evenings John Haule, 30, the exuberant secretary of the Luhanga branch of the ruling party, shows films that teach villagers how to sew and farm or inspire them to be good socialists."

"For those who refuse to become part of the extended family, there is a price to pay. They are ostracized and denied important services. If their ailing children are sent to the tribal shaman rather than the clinic, the parents may be denied the permits required to take a long bus trip or change jobs. An unemployed villager who refuses a job in the tinsmithy or furniture shop will be banished from Luhanga because it is assumed that, out of work, he will soon start sealing."

Through villages like Luhanga, Nyerere hopes to prove that socialism can reorganize and modernize his country, which ranks among the world's 25 poorest. Tanzania's leaders have fashioned one of the world's most egalitarian societies. Thanks to sharply progressive taxes, the earnings ratio between the highest- and lowest-paid citizen is now 9 to 1, down dramatically from about 100 to 1 at the time of independence from Britain 16 years ago. A strict "leadership code" bars most civil servants from drawing more than one salary, owning rent-producing property, or riding around in limousines. Nyerere's own life-style must surely be one of the simplest of any chief of state: he is paid only \$6,000 annually, and lives in a very modest beach house outside Dar es Salaam.

As a result of expanded, although still primitive medical care, life expectancy for the 16 million Tanzanians has risen from about 40 years in 1961 to 47 today. Education is free through university (though most children attend school only through the primary grades), and universal literacy by 1980 is a goal of the party.

The charter of Tanzanian socialism is the Arusha Declaration of 1967. Under its provisions, all major industries, banks, insurance companies, wholesale firms and import-export concerns were nationalized. The most radical measure was the resettlement of millions of peasants into *ujamama* ("familyhood," in Swahili) villages, which in principle are supposed to resemble Luhanga. Initially, migration to these communities was voluntary, but only 2 million responded. Then, in 1973, Nyerere's party ordered everyone in the countryside to the villages. Army units loaded peasants into trucks. Those who balked saw their huts bulldozed or ignited. Scores, perhaps hundreds, died. Some who stubbornly remained on their lands became easy prey for lions, while those who tried to organize resistance were jailed. Today about 14 million Tanzanians live in *ujamama* villages.

The upheavals created by the forced relocation and nationalization have pushed Tanzania's economy toward bankruptcy. A lack of consumer goods has encouraged well-organized smuggling: huge quantities of Tanzanian coffee, tea, cotton and cattle clandestinely find their

way to free markets in neighboring Kenya. Peasants who have to rely on the state-run distribution network spend days carting their harvests to central crop-collection centers. Once there, they often camp for weeks, sleeping atop bales of cotton or mounds of corn, waiting for cash payments to arrive from Dar es Salaam.

Pervading every aspect of life is a lack of concern and enthusiasm. The secretary asleep at her desk and the reply "Gone out" have almost become national symbols of bureaucracy. Government officials are likely to be uninformed and unable to make a decision. A foreign businessman complains: "I've wanted to buy things that Tanzania supposedly wants to sell. But the deals have fallen through because no one cared enough or was able to quote me a price." Managers are frustrated by laws making it impossible for them to dismiss or even discipline incompetent workers.

Although Nyerere's leadership code still keeps most top officials honest, below them, says a Tanzanian, "corruption has become institutionalized." Explains a resident of Dar es Salaam: "You can't get anything done without paying—whether a permit for a plot of land or an import license. I even have to bribe to get my cesspool emptied."

Aid from the U.S., Western Europe, China, the Soviet Union and various international agencies, which last year totaled about \$300 million, has helped keep Tanzania solvent. Officials insist, however, that their nation's difficulties are merely temporary. Explains a Tanzanian socialist: "I know it seems like a mess. The people lack enthusiasm because they often don't have the vision to see the promise of a better life. But that is changing slowly; the foundation is being built." Nonetheless, there are signs that the regime is having second thoughts about the pace of its economic strategy. Dar es Salaam has endorsed a World Bank study that, among other things, calls on Tanzania to 1) spend less on social services and more on industrial and farm development, 2) pay peasants more for crops to spur productivity, 3) stop forcing villagers to join the *ujamama* work brigades.

State-owned enterprises have already been warned that the government will no longer subsidize chronic losses. Early this year, 26 private companies jointly promised to begin new projects totaling \$15 million—admittedly a small sum but the first major investment by Tanzanian businessmen in a decade. The government has even been encouraging Western capital, something that might be viewed as a violation of Nyerere's cardinal principle that socialism equals self-reliance. But as the President ruefully explains: "There is a time for planting and a time for harvesting. I am afraid for us it is still a time for planting." ■



Mother holding child at free medical clinic in Dar es Salaam  
For those outside the extended family, a price is paid.



Shoppers at well-stocked Skála department store in Budapest

## Hungary: A Taste of Luxury

*Central planning with an old capitalist trick*

With typical Magyar verve, Hungarians have managed to bring a sense of style and vitality to their brand of socialism, making it the gem of Marxism-Leninism. Fashionably tailored men and chic women bustle through Budapest's business and shopping districts, while imported autos (mostly East German Wartburgs and Soviet-made Zhigulis and Ladas) jam its streets. The city's elegant cafés and restaurants serve rich pastries and gourmet meals without the sullen service all too common in other East European cities. Billboards and newspapers (although not television) display imaginative and colorful ads urging consumers to buy a myriad of goods, from baby powder to air mattresses. To the rare visitors from the Soviet Union, most of this is unbelievable. One Russian, gazing into a Budapest show window, could not believe that the department store was state-owned (it is). "It's impossible," he said. "These things are too beautiful. Besides, there are no queues."

As in other East bloc states, education and medical care are free, while cultural and sporting activities are plentiful and cheap with opera tickets costing \$1.50. In contrast to their Warsaw Pact allies, most of the 10 million Hungarians are free to travel to the West; a surprisingly wide variety of books, magazines, movies and records from non-Communist countries are available.

Much of the credit for Hungary's success belongs to Party Boss János Kádár, 65, who came to power when Soviet troops and tanks crushed the abortive freedom fighters' uprising of 1956. Shy and self-effacing, Kádár has gradually eased the party's absolute control of society. In 1968 he introduced the New Economic Mechanism, the blueprint for Hungary's unique approach to a Marxist-Leninist economy. Hungary has carried out many of the re-

forms for which Czechoslovakia was branded a heretic by Moscow in 1968. "We haven't talked about 'socialism with a human face,'" says one Budapest journalist. "We simply put it into effect."

At the top of the economy, Hungary scarcely differs from other East bloc nations. The state owns nearly 100% of the means of production. But Kádár's N.E.M. permits an unusual degree of flexibility. Factory managers, while gearing output to the central plan, can innovate to improve their product and enhance its consumer appeal. They are even allowed, within discreet limits, to compete with one another on price and delivery dates. As an incentive for managers and employees to design, manufacture and market high-quality goods, the party's economic planners often use an old capitalistic ploy: material rewards in the form of bonuses and wage hikes.

Hungary's price structure is less rigid than in most Marxist-Leninist states. One-third of all goods—mostly staples such as bread, subway fares and utility rates—have fixed price tags. These can only be changed by government edict, and sometimes the hikes are abrupt. Last year canned fruits, juices and jellies jumped as much as 35%. On a second third of the country's goods—primarily semifinished products like piping that factories sell one another—prices fluctuate within relatively narrow bands set by officials. Market forces determine all other prices, such as those on luxury items, personal services and travel arrangements.

The government has learned that bureaucrats cannot successfully manage the supply and demand of highly personalized goods and services. As a result, free enterprise has been allowed limited growth in the form of 56,000 privately owned service outlets and 11,000 retail stores.

Among them: laundries, hair salons, auto garages, tailor shops and bakeries.

Ferenc Billein, 70, and his 77-year-old wife are typical of this new class of small-time capitalists. Their vegetable and fruit store offers some of Budapest's finest produce. Every day but Sunday, Ferenc rises at 1 in the morning and heads for the country to buy high-quality produce from farmers who have tiny private plots. (Only about 4% of Hungary's farm land remains in private hands, but it yields up to 50% of the country's fruit, eggs, vegetables and poultry.) While their store grosses about \$1,000 a month, this seemingly handsome income by East European standards, does not allow the Billeins to cut down their 18-hour workdays.

"We only work, work, work," Ferenc cheerfully told TIME's David Aikman. "I can't go to the movies or the theater; my only splurge is a beer on Sundays. If we stopped working, we would have to live on my pension of \$73 a month, and that would be impossible. If I wanted to hire a helper, I would have to pay the government \$200 in taxes for him. As it is, taxes take \$420 of our sales, while another \$150 goes for overhead."

Hungary is not trouble-free. One chronic difficulty is that Budapest's central planning creates mismanagement and inefficiencies that lead to overproduction of some goods and shortages of others. Unless they have connections, Hungarians must wait about five years for delivery of a car. Housing is scarce, creating a black market in apartments. Red tape strangles so many transactions that bribery is often required to get the bureaucratic process moving. Lawyers, doctors, hairdressers and even gas station attendants can pocket as much as \$1,000 a month as "gratuities" for services rendered or influence exerted. Corruption presents an especially serious moral dilemma for foreign businessmen, who report that Hungary's officials have been known to ask up to 1½% in kickbacks from state contracts.

There is widespread grumbling about the corruption, but otherwise Hungarians seem generally content with a system that provides them with a bit more freedom and a few more luxuries than their East bloc neighbors enjoy. This is one reason why Hungary has no dissidents to speak of. Writers and artists practice a kind of self-censorship, aware that the Kádár regime allows them about as much freedom as they can reasonably expect. Many Hungarians worry about their political future. Says one writer: "Sometimes when I wake up pessimistic in the morning, I wonder what will happen after Kádár. The problem is that you cannot make him into an institution." Perhaps the only thing that Hungarians can count on is that Communism will continue to rule their lives, and that whoever rules the party dares not risk offending Moscow. The Soviets keep 90,000 troops encamped on Magyar soil.



# World



Political theater: municipal delegates from Peking and Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng applaud each other at National People's Congress

CHINA

## "Hundred Flowers," Part 2

*Mao's heirs promise a thaw—but how warm, and for how long?*

It was pure political theater, set in Peking's cavernous Great Hall of the People. All the votes were unanimous, all the speakers loudly applauded by the 3,497 delegates. The script for last week's National People's Congress, the body that theoretically serves as China's parliament, came courtesy of the all-powerful Communist Party Central Committee. The point the Central Committee wished to drive home: 18 months after Mao's death and the subsequent arrest of the radical Gang of Four, China's leadership has consolidated, and seeks, under "the great banner of Chairman Mao," to reverse the course Mao set in the chaotic Cultural Revolution. Instead of the old emphasis on "political purity" and total equality between workers and officials, the major theme of the eight-day congress, the first since Mao's death, was China's need for order and a "united front" in the struggle to modernize China.

That struggle will evidently continue to be led by Mao's relatively youthful (56) designated heir, Hua Kuo-feng, who is both Premier and Party Chairman. At week's end reports out of Peking said that Hua had been re-elected Premier, while Party Vice Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, 79, would also be China's equivalent to chief of state. Earlier, there had been speculation that the third member of the ruling troika, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, 73, the wily pragmatist who had been a leading victim of the Cultural Revolution,

might get Hua's top job. But Teng was said to have announced that he did not want it, partly because of his age.

Still, much of the congress bore Teng's stamp. In his 3½-hr. address, Chairman Hua stressed a favorite Teng program: the "four modernizations" of agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. And a draft of a new national constitution for China introduced by Yeh hinted at wage increases and other incentives for workers, which Mao had opposed. Since coming to power, the troika has given some 20 million workers their first pay raises in almost two decades (though average urban salaries still remain in the \$20- to \$30-a-month range).

Curiously, Yeh described the greater freedom that the new constitution will permit within China in terms that eerily echoed Mao's 1956 campaign "to let a hundred flowers bloom," an invitation rescinded when it produced unexpectedly virulent criticism of the government. Yet there have been many signs that the limited that the new regime has signaled is genuine. The new constitution would restore the so-called office of the procurator, which before its abolition in 1975 was responsible for screening evidence before prosecutions could be brought. Before convicting an offender, said a finger-wagging article in the party journal *Red Flag*, "we must attach importance to evidence, investigations and studies." Meanwhile, some long-imprisoned dissidents have

been freed, most notably Li Yi-che, jailed in 1974 for protesting a lack of "socialist democracy and legality" in the regime. Tellingly, that very phrase is now in vogue in Peking.

Many of the new directions seek to spur economic growth by encouraging higher productivity and renewed respect for China's educators and scientists. Teachers are now being told to spend nearly all their time in classroom work, rather than doing the manual labor so beloved by China's radicals. University entrance examinations, once scorned as "revisionist," have been reinstated. Some prominent victims of past ideological attacks have been restored to grace. Several hundred members of Shanghai's Academy of Sciences, who were once accused of being secret agents of Taiwan's Kuomintang, have been exonerated and told that slanderous files on their cases have been destroyed.

The thaw includes the arts as well. The new constitution pledges fewer ideological restrictions on the arts and literature, which most Chinese will clearly welcome. When copies of a Chinese translation of *Hamlet* appeared in a shop on Peking's Wang Fu Ching Street recently, they attracted a queue of buyers that stretched 100 yds. Official journals have rallied against "stereotyped writing" and "worn-out themes." authorities are again permitting the old

customs of ballad singing and storytelling, and movies like the anti-Japanese war film *On the Sungari River*, banned since the mid-1960s, can again be seen. In general, the Chinese press has gone to great lengths to portray the entire 17-year period before the Cultural Revolution as a kind of halcyon era, when life was normal and the old veteran bureaucrats were in charge.

Even so, official court notices posted last week proclaimed the execution of "counterrevolutionary elements" in Hangchow, and the campaign continues against associates of the Gang of Four. Nor has there been any softening of the regime's insistence that the U.S. abandon Taiwan (the issue is low on the Carter Administration's agenda while Congress

considers the Panama Canal treaties and prepares for SALT). But U.S. diplomats took it as no more than a standard repetition of China's policy when Chairman Hua last week told the congress that the army "must make all the preparations necessary for the liberation of Taiwan."

Political rivalries may well remain at the top of the hierarchy. Many officials rocketed to prominence during the Cultural Revolution (among them: Secret Police Chief Wang Tung-hsing, Peking Mayor Wu Teh and even Chairman Hua), while others (like Teng Hsiao-p'ing) were purged. In the long run, and despite the talk in Peking of a "united front," there remains a possibility that a new power struggle will erupt between Hua's supporters and Teng's veteran technocrats. ■

#### FRANCE

## Truffles and Flourishes

*Down to the wire, four abreast, in a tight campaign*

As France's parliamentary election campaign came down to the wire, London bookies were offering 6-to-4 odds against a leftist victory. The franc ticked up in the international money markets, a mini-rally stirred the moribund Paris stock exchange, and President Valery Giscard d'E斯塔和 Premier Raymond Barre privately predicted a center-right win—by a narrow margin. But the left still led the center-right parties by about 50% to 46% in the latest polls, and there were plainly still some Frenchmen who were ready to resort to the traditional Gallic suitcase defense against the possibility of abrupt political change. Headlines ban-

nered the news last week when French customs officials nabbed Lucien Barrière, president of the gambling casinos in Cannes and Deauville, as he traveled to Switzerland by train with \$634,000 in diamonds and other gems in his luggage. The baubles, Barrière explained, were just something for his wife to wear on a skiing holiday in Gstaad.

The only thing that seemed probable as France's 32 million voters prepared to go to the polls on March 12 was that the Socialists, Communists and other leftist parties combined would emerge with a majority of the popular vote. But there was no saying who would win the runoff election a week later on March 19, given the nature of France's two-round election system (see box) and the uncertainty about whether the idiosyncratic French Communists would choose to patch up their differences with the bigger Socialist Party.

On the last lap of the race, the major candidates of the four principal parties campaigned in a variety of styles. Communist Party Chief Georges Marchais, 57, showed up in Villejuif, a suburb in Paris' working-class Red Belt, to greet his fans in a gymnasium plastered with signs saying ENOUGH INJUSTICE! THE RICH MUST PAY! Displaying the bulldog bluntness that has made him the most entertaining of all the candidates, particularly on TV, Marchais inveighed against the "scandalously" rich. "Do you know there are agencies that specialize in the sale of Caribbean islands where you go get a tan in winter?" he asked. "Do you know how much one of these little islands costs? Forty-two million dollars, plus \$42 million more in building costs!" Marchais, as French politicians like to do for effect, was using "old franc" figures. The cost in new francs would be \$4.2 million.

When the irate murmurs died down, Marchais hit another target: his erstwhile comrade, Socialist Party Leader François Mitterrand. "When are we supposed to

believe Mitterrand?" he asked rhetorically as boos filled the gym. The Socialist leader, he charged, planned to make a "gift" of \$5.7 billion to "giant capitalist companies" in compensation for nationalizing them if he were elected.

In contrast with Marchais, Socialist Mitterrand, 61, comes across as a sober, lugubrious loner—so much so that some have compared his style to Richard Nixon's. He hops from town to town in a Learjet with a small retinue of aides. Stopping in the medieval city of Poitiers, he greeted a long-waiting crowd of 400 without so much as a smile (his advisers have warned him against exposing his notably jagged incisors). He denounced Giscard's Premier as having been "unpatriotic" and "alarmist" by talking to foreign journalists about his views on how a leftist victory might set back France's economy. He then visibly dismayed the local mayor, who is running for parliament on the Socialist ticket, by refusing to predict a Socialist victory in Poitiers. Adding insult to injury, he then turned down proffered glasses of the local wines.

Several stops later on the same day, however, Mitterrand captivated an audience of 2,000 in the town of Angoulême by coming on like a Bible Belt shouter: "Let's end the exploitation of man by man! That's what socialism is all about! All the creeks, all the rivers of history come together in a torrent that is called socialism!" When he had finished his 95-minute performance, his approving listeners rose to sing the *Internationale*, while the Socialists on the platform each clasped a red rose, their party's symbol.

Raymond Barre's campaign had all



**Marchais catching campaign carnation**

*A plan to soak the rich.*



**Chirac embracing Alsatian girl**

*A call to avoid a gulag.*

## World

the trappings that go with being the sitting Premier, including a press bus, police-escorted motorcades and battalions of attending TV cameramen. Still, the rotund economist, 53, who has never before run for public office, had trouble making contact with voters. Walking through the southwestern town of Libourne, he made valiant efforts at small talk with passers-by. Offered a taste of a fine local wine, he pronounced: "I'll drink to anything that will assure the quality of our life." At a local moviehouse, he did his best to answer voters' questions about the status of small shopkeepers' wives and about government pensions, but soon slid into his favorite theme: the soft world economy had inflicted on France all manner of ills that would take the center-right coalition three more years to cure. Pursuing the same point in Bordeaux a few hours later, he scoffed that to gamble on the left's program—more spending, increased nationalization of industry—would be to play "blind man's bluff."

The most effective campaigner for the center-right coalition is Jacques Chirac, 45, the Gaullist leader and Paris mayor. Bouncing out of a Strasbourg hotel at 10 a.m. last week, he shouted to his aides: "Mount your horses!" climbed into a steel-gray Peugeot and led a 15-car caravan on the last leg of what has been a six-month, 30,000-mile-long barnstorming-style campaign all around France. Arriving at 10:30 in the town of Neudorf, he started pumping hands right away and was soon off on a day-long dash that took him to 15 campaign events within a 50-mile radius. In Neudorf, he entered one of the Roman Catholic schools that the left proposes to nationalize—taking care to be photographed under a crucifix. At another town, Chirac nibbled on a piece of truffled sausage encased in piecrust, an Alsatian specialty, before warning his listeners that the left was a "sorcerer's apprentice."

Later Chirac declared that no country had ever gone from a "regime of lib-

erty to a regime of socialism and back again to liberty. I don't say that Monsieur Mitterrand wishes to install a *gulag* in France," he conceded, but he warned that France under leftist rule would eventually resemble the Soviet-bloc countries. Back in Strasbourg that evening, Chirac delivered another rousing denunciation of the left to 4,500 Gaullist faithful. Signed one elderly admirer: "He is the dauphin of Charles de Gaulle."

ITALY

## Pretty Gift

*But will Berlinguer accept?*

While French voters pondered the possibility of Communists in power, their neighbors in Italy were much closer to the prospect. After six weeks of caretaker government—close to a record even in Italy—Premier Giulio Andreotti went into a three-day meeting with the 398 parliamentary members from his Christian Democratic Party determined to win backing for a radical step to solve the crisis. Andreotti hewed to the party line, rejecting any deal that would give the Communists seats in some emergency Cabinet—as they had originally demanded. But he argued that in view of the "extreme gravity" of the situation, he should be given a mandate to negotiate "extraordinary parliamentary solidarity." This, in effect, would give the Communists a decisive role in the parliamentary majority. After much debate, his colleagues agreed.

At the same time, party conservatives imposed sharp limits on Andreotti's room to maneuver. No arrangement with the Communists could continue beyond year's end, when the Italian parliament is due to elect a new President; among other strict policy guidelines, allegiance to NATO would have to be maintained, and there could be no policemen's union affiliated with the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor—the rejection of a key Communist demand. Insisted Senate Whip Giuseppe Bartolomei: "The Communists must not be legitimized as a governing party, not even for a day."

Some Christian Democrats would not mind if Italy's political crisis continued to drag on for a while. They fear that a gain for the Italian Communists might help the French Reds at the polls, which in turn would strengthen Italian Party Leader Enrico Berlinguer's hand. As one Christian Democratic Deputy put it: "An agreement with the Communists here would be a *cadeau* (pretty gift) for Georges Marchais, just as victory for the left in France would be a *merveilleux cadeau* for the Communists here."

At week's end Berlinguer's Communists were still debating whether or not Andreotti's offer was attractive enough for them to help him try to form Italy's 39th government since the collapse of Fascism in 1943.

## De Gaulle Had a System

Much of the uncertainty about the outcome of the French elections can be blamed on or credited to Charles de Gaulle. Seeking in 1958 to put an end to the revolving-door regimes of France's postwar period (26 different governments in twelve years), he scrapped proportional representation. In its place De Gaulle introduced the country's unusual two-round electoral system. Basically the system is designed to winnow out fringe-party candidates in the first-round vote, so that only larger parties survive for the second round. In theory—and so far in practice—the parties that win Round 2 command broad enough support to form stable governments.

For the first round, on March 12, a total of 4,268 candidates will be running for 491 National Assembly seats. But only those who emerge with at least 12.5% of the votes of the registered electorate in their district may enter the second round, on March 19. Then the bigger parties will begin their horse trading. Candidates from the centrist parties backing President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing have already pledged to bow out in the second round in favor of Gaullist candidates who get more votes in the first round; the Gaullists have promised to do the same for centrist candidates who beat them.

In the past, such deals have made the second-round vote a direct duel between right and left in most districts. This year, however, Communist Chief Georges Marchais has threatened to upset the usual pattern. In his feud with Socialist François Mitterrand, he has warned that if his Communists do not gain at least 21% of the vote in the first round, he may not withdraw his candidates in districts where Socialists run ahead. In many areas this would result in three-way races—Communists v. Socialists v. center-right candidates—a situation that would give the non-leftists an overwhelming advantage. According to one poll, if the Communists do withdraw in favor of Socialist front runners, the left coalition could win 257 seats in the Assembly—well above the 246 needed for a majority. But if Marchais keeps his weaker candidates in the running, the left may win only 191 seats, v. 300 for the center-right. And the parties that have held power since De Gaulle instituted the two-round system will keep it.



Booths at a French polling place



Bishop Muzorewa, Prime Minister Smith, Chief Chirau and the Rev. Sithole signing the interim-government agreement in Salisbury

#### RHODESIA

## First Step Toward Black Rule

*The "internal" settlement seems more settled*

Beneath a watercolor print of Rhodesia's founder, Cecil Rhodes, that had been borrowed for the occasion, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and three moderate black leaders last week signed a document that was billed as the first formal step toward black majority rule for their country. Three months after he first sat down to negotiate with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaniingi Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, Smith had apparently achieved the "internal" settlement he had been seeking.

Whether it will work is quite another question. The agreement paves the way for formation of an interim government, which will have two tiers: an executive council, composed of Smith and the three blacks, and a ministerial council, whose size is still to be determined but whose membership will be evenly balanced between blacks and whites. Smith will keep his title of Prime Minister, at least for a while, but the present Parliament will be recessed and in theory Smith will be head of the country only when he is chairing the executive council, whose decisions in any case are to be "by consensus."

The primary job of the interim government will be to draw up a constitution for an independent Zimbabwe, the African name for Rhodesia, and hold elections before the end of the year. Toughest of all, it is supposed to arrange a cease-fire with the Patriotic Front, the guerrilla organization that has waged war against the Smith regime for five years. Muzorewa and Sithole argue that most of the guerrillas would back the settlement, but that is not the message that the guerrillas themselves are sending. Since the Salisbury talks began in December, Patriotic Front Leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo have intensified the fighting. Indeed, the day after the agreement was signed, the capital was rocked by several bomb blasts that were almost cer-

tainly intended as a guerrilla commentary on the settlement.

This week the U.N. Security Council will take up the Rhodesian question, and probably will denounce the Salisbury plan. Yet the more the settlement takes shape, the more denunciations of it by outside governments will be questioned. Neither Washington nor London was prepared to oppose it openly, though in the past both had maintained that any new government in Salisbury would have to include the Patriotic Front if the war was to be ended and if Soviet and Cuban influence was to be kept out of the area.

#### MIDDLE EAST

## Intransigence as Policy

*Jerusalem springs a surprise interpretation of 242*

As he shuttled back and forth between Jerusalem and Cairo last week, U.S. Ambassador Alfred ("Roy") Atherton suffered a rude shock. The man who administered it was Israeli Premier Menachem Begin. While discussing the stalled peace negotiations, Begin told Atherton that he believed United Nations Resolution 242, which, among other things, calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories, does not apply to the West Bank. Begin's curious argument: under the terms of 242, the Israelis need withdraw only from territories whose sovereignty they recognize, and Israel has never recognized Jordan's sovereignty over the West Bank.

This represents a serious hardening of Israel's position. If the feisty Premier sticks to his guns, it will be a grave setback to the peace process. President Carter said as much when he observed at his press conference that the "abandonment" of 242 "would put us back many months, or years," since that ingeniously ambig-

The American and British governments want to see if the Smith plan will work and, more important, whether it will lead to a genuine transfer to black rule. The Rhodesian whites have won several minority safeguards, including enough seats in the new Parliament to give them veto power over constitutional changes for ten years. If they also retain control over the armed forces, they could wind up as the real power in the new regime.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen still feels that Nkomo and his Patriotic Front faction should somehow be brought into the settlement, and is believed to be working privately toward that end. But Nkomo is showing no interest, at least publicly. From his Zambia headquarters, he denounced the Salisbury agreement as a "sellout." His verdict: the fighting will continue. ■

uous resolution has been the framework for all Middle East peace negotiations during the past decade. Begin's new stand would make it almost impossible for the completion of a declaration of principles that Israel and Egypt could sign: it would almost rule out any chance that Jordan's King Hussein would then join the peace process because Begin's interpretation of 242 forecloses Hussein's hope of getting back the West Bank territory he lost in 1967. If Begin does not have a quick change of mind before leaving for Washington next week, his visit with Carter may be an unsmiling one.

Writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, former Foreign Minister Abba Eban attacked Begin's position as "judicially frivolous." *Davar*, the semiofficial voice of the opposition Labor Party, declared: "The Israeli attempt to undermine the sanctity of 242 is a perilous maneuver. It only strengthens the impression that the government is fleeing any attempt to deal with fundamental questions and prefers

## World

formalistic sophistry and settlement gimmickry."

More gimmickry was in evidence last week. The Begin Cabinet, after days of heated debate over whether to stop the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, finally concluded that there was "no need at this time for any new decision." Jerusalem's announcement highlighted a serious dispute within the fractious Begin Cabinet, which has Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon pressing ahead with new settlements while Defense Minister Ezer Weizman calls for an end to that activity during the negotiations. Using his military authority to fight the Sharon policy, Weizman ordered that some 20 young farmers be barred from moving into a new settlement in the Sinai.

Meanwhile, disturbed by what has happened to the peace momentum, Britain's Prime Minister, James Callaghan, has embarked on a modest re-entry for Britain into the Middle East tangle. During a recent quick visit to the region, his Foreign Secretary, David Owen, reported finding the Israelis more intransigent than ever, not merely about the settlements but also about making any serious concessions. One Israeli newspaper quoted Owen as saying of Begin, "I just can't stand that man. He doesn't even talk to you, he just preaches on and on, and what's more, he treats you like a kid." British diplomats dismissed the paper's account as a "wicked lie," but in any case, Owen's purported comments were milder than those that some Israelis have been making. During the height of the settlements controversy last week, an influential Israeli official said: "This government is run by crazy people, and this policy is complete madness. Sharon will enter Jewish history as the man who caused the greatest damage to the Jewish state in the shortest time, and Begin should be blamed as the leader who let it happen."

Though neither may enjoy it very much, Carter and Begin will have a lot to talk about. By the time Begin arrives, Defense Minister Weizman will have visited Washington, where he is expected to say that the proposed sale of sophisticated U.S. warplanes to Egypt and especially to Saudi Arabia could tempt the Israelis to launch a pre-emptive strike against the Arabs some time before the planes are delivered in the early 1980s.

During Begin's visit, Carter will try to reason with the Premier over Resolution 242 and persuade him to agree that the Palestinian problem must be resolved "in all its aspects." Begin will undoubtedly refuse. He will probably urge Carter to keep U.S. attitudes on the negotiations private (lest they stir Sadat's hopes) and argue heatedly against the U.S.-Arab warplane sale. Carter's reply, says a U.S. diplomat, will be "that the Administration has made up its mind, and that's that." It may develop that more than one man can say no at a summit. ■

### SOVIET UNION

## Unordinary Case

### A KGB frame-up

**A**natoli Shcharansky, the Soviet computer expert and Jewish activist who has become the leading target of Moscow's campaign against dissidents, is nearing a grim anniversary: as of next week, he will have been held incommunicado for a full year in Moscow's Lefortovo prison while awaiting trial on espionage charges. Last week the regime gave him a present of sorts, a state-appointed lawyer named Silva Dubrovskaya, who was described by the chairman of the Moscow bar association as a "lovely woman and a very experienced trial lawyer." One of her first acts was to ex-



Shcharansky before his arrest last year

The roommate was a walk-in.

press surprise to Western newsmen at their interest in what she called "an ordinary case." Said she: "Very soon the time will come when you will find out everything you want to know."

Shcharansky faces a sentence that ranges from ten years in prison to an unlikely extreme of execution if he is convicted, and Attorney Dubrovskaya probably could not get him off even if she seriously attempted to. After all, he has already been convicted in the Soviet press. Tass Commentator Yuri Kornilov, for instance, insists that he will be found guilty because he helped a foreign state (meaning the U.S.) in hostile activities against the Soviet Union. Moscow radio's foreign-language broadcasts have frequently cited "facts" to "demonstrate" his guilt.

Most important, the regime has already made clear that it has a star witness to link the leader of Soviet "refuseniks"—Jews who have sought but were

refused permission to leave the country—with the CIA. Dr. Sanya L. Lipavsky, a Jewish surgeon who knew Shcharansky, signed an "open letter" to *Izvestiya* last March in which he implicated Shcharansky in an alleged, largely Jewish spy ring that supposedly included dissidents, U.S. embassy officials in Moscow and members of the American press corps.

Lipavsky's broadside caused much discomfort in the Carter Administration. Shortly after Shcharansky was charged with treason last June, President Carter broke a Washington policy of not commenting on spy charges\* and said publicly what the Soviets had already been told privately: Shcharansky, Carter announced, "has never had any sort of relationship to our knowledge with the CIA." The Administration had hoped that this might halt the Soviet momentum toward a Shcharansky trial, but it has not been successful: the trial is expected to begin soon—after the Belgrade conference on human rights closes.

**T**he Administration is troubled, TIME has learned, because Lipavsky—though not Shcharansky—did indeed once have a brief link with the CIA, which Carter knew about when he made his June statement. In Moscow in 1975, Lipavsky presented himself as a "walk-in," or volunteer spy, to CIA agents and offered to provide information on the basis of his contacts in the Soviet scientific community. Soviet walk-ins are often KGB operatives. Nevertheless, to the CIA's later regret, it was decided to string Lipavsky along and see what developed. Little did, and eventually concern arose that he was a KGB agent provocateur whose contacts among intellectuals would later be used to frame dissidents—as they have been. Lipavsky was cast off nine months after he first walked in, but it was too late. As it happened, after the CIA cut Lipavsky loose, he shared a Moscow apartment with Shcharansky for a time; this thin bit of guilt by association may be all that Shcharansky's prosecutors need to make a treason case plausible.

Thus the Shcharansky affair has become a problem for the U.S. and the Soviet Union. If he were to be convicted of espionage in spite of Carter's public assertion of his innocence, the Soviets would in effect be accusing the President of telling untruths. If the U.S. were to accept a Soviet offer to exchange Shcharansky for some Russian operative held in the West—which some observers insist may be Moscow's aim—the U.S. would in effect seem to be admitting that Shcharansky was a trade-off CIA man after all. From this imbroglio the lesson is, unfortunately, clear: CIA activity aimed at producing espionage results can also play into the hands of the KGB in its efforts to persecute innocent dissidents. ■

\*Reason: if false accusations were challenged publicly, charges that were not specifically refuted might be taken to be true.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Sister Godfrida (inset) and exhumation of bodies of elderly patients who are suspected victims

CRIME

## The Nun's Story

*A gothic tale of morphine and murder in Flanders*

Was it coincidence? Or was something more sinister behind the high death rate in the 38-bed geriatric ward of the public hospital in the picturesque Flemish Belgian town of Wetteren? Early last year, some of the nurses assigned to the ward, presided over by a short, plump nun named Sister Godfrida, of the Apostolic Congregation of St. Joseph, decided to compile a secret diary about the peculiar goings-on there. In their record they listed not only the continuing deaths and the circumstances surrounding each one but also various incidents of what appeared to be extreme maltreatment of old people. To their horror, the nurses gradually realized that the common element in all these episodes appeared to be their cherub-faced Sister Godfrida.

What their diary entries would eventually uncover, however, even the nurses were not prepared for. Last week Sister Godfrida, 44, was in jail in nearby Ghent, and her neighbors in Wetteren, a quiet marketing town (pop. 25,000) in a stolid, conservative Catholic area of Belgium, were reeling from shock. The nun, a local woman whose name was Cecile Bombeek before she joined the Josephites, had been accused of stealing more than \$30,000 from her elderly patients in order to support a morphine habit. Far worse, after she had been charged with theft, Sister Godfrida placidly confessed to killing three old people with overdoses of insulin because they had been "too difficult at night." But she did it "sweetly," she insisted, and none of the three had suffered. Admitted Dr. Jean-Paul De Corte, a member of the hospital's governing board: "It could

just as well be 30 people as three."

Belgian police formally charged the nun with three murders. Meanwhile, a judge ordered crews into the graveyard to exhume not only the bodies of the three patients that Sister Godfrida admitted killing but also those of two other possible victims. While the police awaited the autopsy reports they needed before they could add more murder charges, embarrassed ecclesiastical authorities pondered a list of improprieties that violated most of the remaining Commandments and included several deadly sins as well.

Besides being addicted to morphine—drug abuse is a serious criminal offense in Belgium—Sister Godfrida was reputed to have carried on sexual re-

lationships simultaneously with a retired missionary priest and with another nun who taught school in Wetteren. Her affairs were kept out of the public eye, but other members of her community knew about them. She and the teaching nun shared an expensively decorated apartment near the hospital. They frequently dined out together in the best restaurants; at other times, merchants recalled, they had expensive cuts of meat, fresh seafood and vintage wines delivered to their apartment. Sister Godfrida had to loot her patients' funds, police surmised, as much to finance her epicurean tastes as to pay for her drug habit.

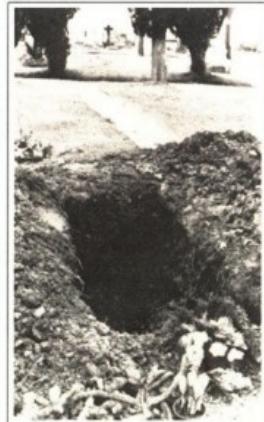
How did Sister Godfrida's peccadilloes escape the attention of officials? Dr. De Corte, who instigated the investigation that uncovered the murders, suggested that there had been a conspiracy of silence about the nun. She had finally been suspended last August and dispatched to a Ghent hospital, where she underwent an unsuccessful drug cure. Someone—police suspect the roommate, who visited her at the hospital—provided drugs during her stay. At a press conference, Dr. De Corte revealed that in January, when she returned unchanged, the geriatric-ward nurses decided to confront the hospital administrator with their growing diary of horrors. "When 21 out of 38 die in one year," admitted De Corte, "it is too much." Besides, the diary contained entries of Godfrida-administered "tortures," like ripping catheter tubes out of bladders.

Sister Godfrida last week was undergoing psychiatric tests. If she is found to be mentally unstable, she may never come to trial. ■

## Grave Offense

"He would have laughed his head off," insisted one friend of the "Little Tramps" family. But in truth, just about everyone in the Swiss village of Corsier-sur-Vevey thought that the kidnaping was the darkest of black humor at best. One day last week a gravedigger discovered that the plot in which Charlie Chaplin was buried had been ravaged. Authorities flashed an Interpol alert for "unknown persons wanted for the unlawful removal of the mortal remains of Charles Chaplin," who died last Christmas Day at 88. About all the grave robbers could be charged with, unless they demanded ransom, was "interfering with the peace of the deceased" (maximum penalty: three years).

Widow Oona O'Neill Chaplin, 52, waited for word at the family estate. By week's end no ransom demands had come.





"You want a chocolate bar, kid?"



Frankfurt money dealers arranging trades as U.S. currency sank to record low

## Economy & Business

# Can Anything Help the Dollar?

*The crises now are coming week by week, and fresh ideas are scarce*

The breathing space between dollar crises used to be measured in years, but now it has been cut back to weeks. If last December's tumultuous plunge of the greenback was the worst since the currency upheavals of 1973, its place in the recordbooks was short-lived indeed. Last week the dollar bears were again on the prowl, clawing the bleeding buck to new and worrisome lows against the Japanese yen and nearly all the major trading currencies of Europe.

The dollar's worst performance came in West Germany, where it dropped nearly 4.4 pfennigs in one day, crashing below the psychologically important two-mark barrier before rallying slightly to close the week at 2.02. In Switzerland, the dollar rocketed between extremes of 1.88 and 1.75 Swiss francs within two trading days. The dollar even managed a distinction of sorts by hitting a 17-month low against the Italian lira, one of the world's weakest currencies.

Despite the dollar's steady at week's end, no one could be sure the improvement would continue. The bleakest aspect of the fall is that no measures designed to strengthen the dollar seem to work any more. The U.S. at the start of the year began buying unwanted dollars

to prop up their price; that intervention, which Europeans insisted was too brief, accomplished nothing. The Swiss in the past two weeks have taken a series of drastic steps to stop the rise of the Swiss franc against the dollar; among other things, they lowered interest rates to as little as 1%, imposed a 40% "negative interest" charge on certain foreign deposits of more than 5 million francs in Swiss banks—meaning that depositors must pay 40% a year for the privilege of keeping these accounts—and flatly forbade purchase of Swiss stocks and bonds by nonresidents. Those measures strengthened the dollar's exchange rate against the Swiss franc for all of two days.

The U.S. has tried to nag West Germany into pumping up its economy to reduce the trade surpluses that are prompting conversion of dollars into deutsche marks. The West Germans, fearing inflation, resisted so sternly that the best the U.S. has managed is an agreement under which Washington and Bonn will stop calling each other names in public.

What caused the latest convulsion? There were numerous handy explanations. From Washington came the unsettling news that the nation's index of leading indicators slipped 1.9% in January.

the biggest dip in three years, while inflation speeded up. From Europe came a newspaper interview with West German Economics Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff, who said that he "could not exclude" the possibility of the dollar's sinking to 1.80 DMs.

These were more excuses than reasons. Behind them remains the fundamental problem: the U.S., by spending more abroad than it earns, is spilling out dollars faster than foreigners can absorb them. The measure of that outflow is the nation's trade balance, and it has been deteriorating. Last week the Commerce Department announced that during January the U.S. imported \$2.38 billion more than it exported. That was the biggest monthly deficit since last October and more than 40% larger than the January 1977 figure.

Washington at last seems to recognize that the dollar slide is not a problem that will go away or can be minimized. The more the dollar drops, the greater becomes the pressure for the U.S.'s trading partners to put up more import barriers to protect their home markets from cheap American products and the greater becomes the chance of a new world recession. The biggest worry of all is

that OPEC will hike its oil prices to make up for the losses it is suffering selling oil for dollars that steadily lose value. Last week that fear looked suddenly real as Kuwait's oil minister, Sheik Ali Khalifa Al Sabah, announced that his country is considering calling for an emergency OPEC meeting to discuss dissolving the current freeze on oil prices. State Department officials bravely pooh-poohed the Kuwaiti call as "blustering." Europeans were less sure. Said West German Economics Minister Lambsdorff: "What I'm afraid of most this year is having to pay 1.5 DMs for two things: a liter of gas and a U.S. dollar."

**U**nfortunately, Washington sees little it can do to prop the dollar, short of pushing the U.S. economy into a recession that would correct the problem of pulling in more imports, especially oil. The Administration is of course trying to get its energy bill out of a congressional conference committee and onto the statute books. But the bill has already been so watered down by Senate changes that even if it does ever pass, its effect will probably be more psychological than real.

The latest idea is to have the U.S. borrow billions of marks, yen, Swiss francs or whatever from private holders of those currencies to use in buying up dollars to support the price. Such borrowings would supplement the approximately \$20 billion in other currencies that Washington can now borrow from foreign central banks to use in dollar-support operations. That might help—but foreigners hold an awesome \$300 billion in greenbacks, many of which they could sell for other currencies if they lost all faith in the dollar's stability.

In his televised news conference, President Carter asserted that the dollar's agonies are being caused largely by traders' lack of perception of economic reality. He has a point: by any objective standard of purchasing power, the dollar is now grossly undervalued. A dollar, spent as a dollar, will buy more goods and services than the same dollar will buy when converted into, say, West German marks: a cup of coffee now costs an American in Germany the mark equivalent of 80¢ and a quart of milk \$2.

Unhappily, currency markets reflect not only present purchasing power but future hopes and fears, and as long as they do so, the dollar, once a symbol of financial strength, is becoming something of a joke. One example: the drop of the dollar against the DM has made the 190,000 G.I.s stationed in West Germany that nation's newest poverty class. Last week NATO Chief Alexander Haig told congressional committees that some sympathetic West Germans are offering care packages of food and cigarettes to his soldiers. For World War II veterans who remember when a packet of American smokes bought a night on the town in the war-shattered Reich, that is indeed a bitter reflection of the dollar's plight. ■

## New Defender of the Greenback

*Miller survives "inquisition" to become chairman*

**F**rom the moment at the end of last year when Jimmy Carter nominated him to be chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, G. William Miller has said that one of his top priorities will be strengthening the battered dollar. But to get the chance to deliver on his words, he had to survive confirmation hearings that turned into an unexpected ordeal—in which his views on the dollar, interest rates, money supply and other matters that a Fed chairman must handle hardly figured at all. Rather, the issue was Miller's personal integrity as chairman of Textron Inc., the giant conglomerate.

Last week Miller handily passed the test. After five weeks of slippshod investigation, the staff of the Senate Banking Committee had compiled 1,400 pages of testimony and evidence about alleged bribery by Textron to push sales of its Bell helicopters in Iran; leaks had inspired innuendo-filled stories in the press. But in nearly four hours of face-to-face grilling, Miller convinced the Senators that there was no proof that Textron had in effect resorted to bribery, and still less that he as boss had condoned it. In a stinging rebuke to its own chairman, Wisconsin Democrat William Proxmire, the committee voted

14 to 1 (Proxmire casting the only dissenting vote) to approve Miller's confirmation. The full Senate then approved the nomination by a simple voice vote. As a result, Miller will swiftly be sworn in and will again testify before Congress this week—this time telling the House Banking Committee what he proposes to do as the nation's top central banker.

That Miller's confirmation should have been delayed at all is a comment on the present anxious climate in Washington about anything concerning ethics. Once upon a very recent time, Miller's nomination would have been approved with only perfunctory debate, if that. But the Senate is still smarting from justified criticism of its overly hasty confirmation of Bert Lance as Budget boss, and business has been tarred by the international bribery practiced by Lockheed and other corporations. Thus when Miller first appeared before the Senate Banking Committee in late January, the Senators took seriously Proxmire's allegation that Textron had resorted to bribery in Iran, and recessed the hearings pending an investigation.

In question was a payment of \$2.95 million that Bell Helicopter, a subsidiary of Textron, had made, with Miller's approval, to an Iranian company named Air Taxi. The money was paid as a form of commission at about the time of a sale in 1973 of \$500 million worth of helicopters to the Iranian government. The payment itself was legal and no secret: Textron openly recorded it on its books. But Proxmire and the committee staff claimed to have evidence that Air Taxi was secretly partially owned by General Mohammed Khatemi, former head of the Iranian air force and the Shah's brother-in-law. The suspicion was that the payment was actually a bribe to Khatemi to get him to approve the sale.

**K**hatemi himself can no longer confirm or deny the story: he died in a glider accident in 1975. Proxmire did produce the attorney for a former Bell sales agent, who testified that Khatemi's ownership of Air Taxi was common knowledge in Iran, and that this fact had been called to the attention of top executives of Textron's Bell Helicopter division in the mid-1960s. The executives, however, testified that they had considered the talk "cocktail-party rumor," unworthy of reporting to Miller. That seems plausible enough. At the time Bell officials were allegedly informed of Khatemi's interest in Air Taxi, Iran was a very minor client. Bell had sold only 15 helicopters to all of Asia during a four-year period in the mid-1960s, in comparison with 2,000 helicopters a year to the U.S. armed forces. Further, Bell is only one division of Textron, which also makes chain saws, roller bearings, zippers and myriad other pro-



**G. William Miller triumphant**  
*Smiling all the way to the central bank.*

## Economy & Business

ducts that claimed Miller's attention.

If the weakness of Proxmire's case was one reason for Miller's confirmation, another was Miller's own coolness under fire. On the eve of his final appearance before the committee, the usually jovial Textron chief turned uncharacteristically snapish with his aides and prepared a 50-page statement in his defense. Once on the stand, however, he found no need to quote from it; his impromptu answers to Proxmire's queries were enough. When Proxmire opened by saying that to him "the facts ring loud and clear," Textron bribed Khatemi.<sup>1</sup> Miller responded that the Senator was making a statement rather than posing a question. Miller insisted that "if General Khatemi did have an undisclosed interest in Air Taxi, then I have been deceived. Deception by others should certainly not be the basis for impugning the integrity of innocent parties." Miller and Bell President James Atkins protested that Proxmire was relying on CIA and Defense Department information about Khatemi's partial ownership of Air Taxi that had been unavailable to Textron.

In the end, Proxmire's badgering tone cost him control of his own committee, whose members had received phone calls the day before from Vice President Walter Mondale and Trade Negotiator Robert Strauss urging Miller's confirmation. Illinois Democrat Adlai Stevenson III complained that the committee was asking Miller to prove his innocence rather than confronting him with evidence of guilt. Conservative Republican John Tower of Texas grumbled that "this type of inquiry is how we get our jollies in the Senate. It is easy harassment."

Nonetheless, Proxmire noted that the Securities and Exchange Commission had opened an investigation into alleged past bribery and false billing practices by Textron in Jamaica and half a dozen other countries around the world in addition to Iran. Then he repeated an editorial suggestion by the *New York Times* that Miller voluntarily withdraw his nomination. At that, Michigan Democrat Donald Riegle Jr. exclaimed: "This committee has taken every shot we could at Mr. Miller and hasn't touched him in the slightest. Now you're saying to him: 'You take the gun and shoot yourself!'" Miller himself coolly told Proxmire: "I do not intend to withdraw my nomination, and I hope that you will reform your ways and vote yes."

Proxmire did not, but Miller won over everyone else, even though the SEC's investigation may continue to put a burden on him. Miller responded to that with sang-froid: "Only my sleep has been inhibited by the investigation in the past few days. My ability to function at the Federal Reserve won't be." In any case, he can now turn his attention to money supply, interest rates and the dollar, subjects that could benefit from the precision he demonstrated during the hearings. ■

## Gauging Prices—and Spending

*New CPI shows more inflation than expected*

The nation's most widely watched measure of inflation by far is the Bureau of Labor Statistics' consumer price index. As inflation has embedded itself in American life, the CPI has become possibly the most important economic statistic issued by the Government. Escalator clauses tie the incomes of perhaps half of all Americans to movements in the CPI; among them are 8.5 million wage earners, 31 million Social Security recipients, 20 million people who receive food stamps, and 2.5

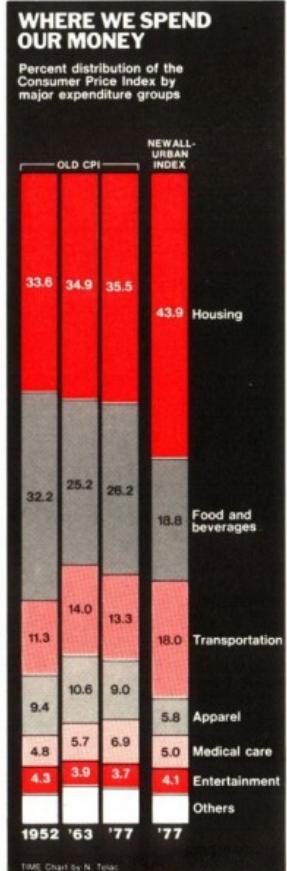
million retired military and federal employees. But the index has had two serious drawbacks: it is based on the spending patterns of only urban blue-collar and clerical employees, who now constitute less than 45% of the population, and it was compiled by pricing a "market basket" of goods and services compiled back in 1963.

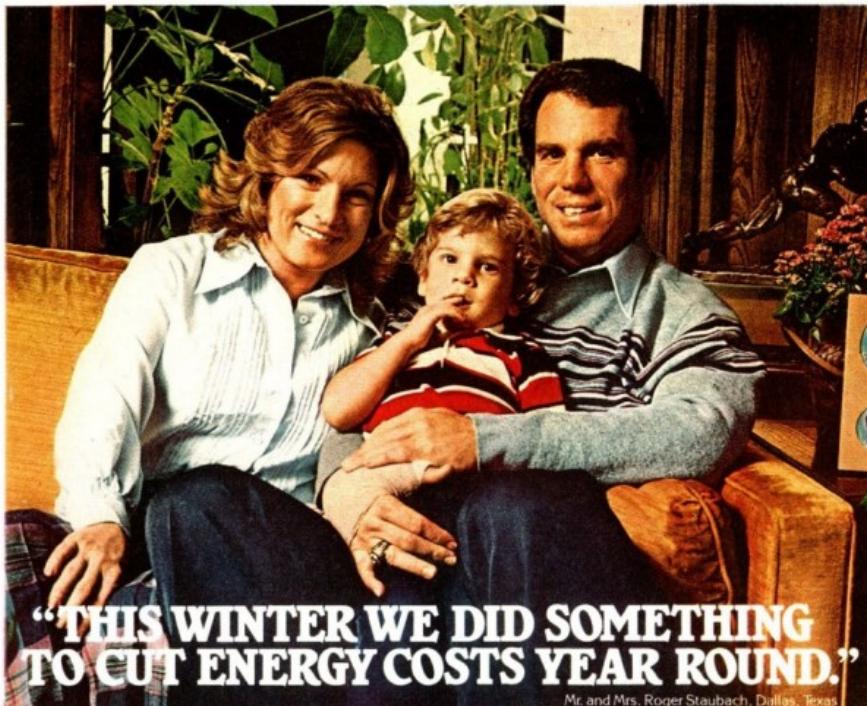
No more. Last week the bureau began issuing not one but two new CPIs. The first new index, still focused on blue-collar workers and clerical employees, updates their spending habits through surveys of family budgets taken in 1972-73 and rigorously analyzed ever since. The second (CPI-U) reflects the new spending patterns not just of wage earners but of "all urban consumers," including, for example, retired people and self-employed professionals; it is supposed to reflect the way 80% of Americans spend their money.

Unfortunately, both of the new CPIs showed inflation speeding up still more rapidly than had been supposed. Even the old CPI showed prices rising in January at an annual rate of 8.7%, about double the pace in November and December. But according to both of the new indexes, the rate was 10%, which reaches the dreaded double-digit range. The increase was exaggerated by ice and snow that snarled rails and roads in January, leading to shortages that jacked up food prices. But wholesale prices have been rising rapidly enough in the past few months to threaten more jarring consumer-price jumps. Julius Shiskin, the savvy Labor Department statistician who updated the CPI, concedes that the January jump is "cause for concern."

Had the news been better, announcement of the new indexes might have been a triumphant occasion. Shiskin regards them as "the best indexes in the world." To compile the old CPI, the Labor Department's 360 price inspectors (all but a handful of whom are housewives) had been checking the prices of some products that hardly anyone buys any more: pedal pushers, garter belts, bobby pins. Such obsolete articles were thrown out of the 400-item market basket and many newer ones substituted. The BLS shoppers will now price, for example, joggers' warmup suits, pocket calculators, birth control pills and wine.

The biggest change has been in the weights assigned to different categories of spending. The old CPI assumed that the typical family spent 34.9% of its budget on home furnishings and housing (mortgage payments or rent); CPI-U gives this category a 43.9% weight. The jump reflects both inflation in home prices and the determination of many Americans to





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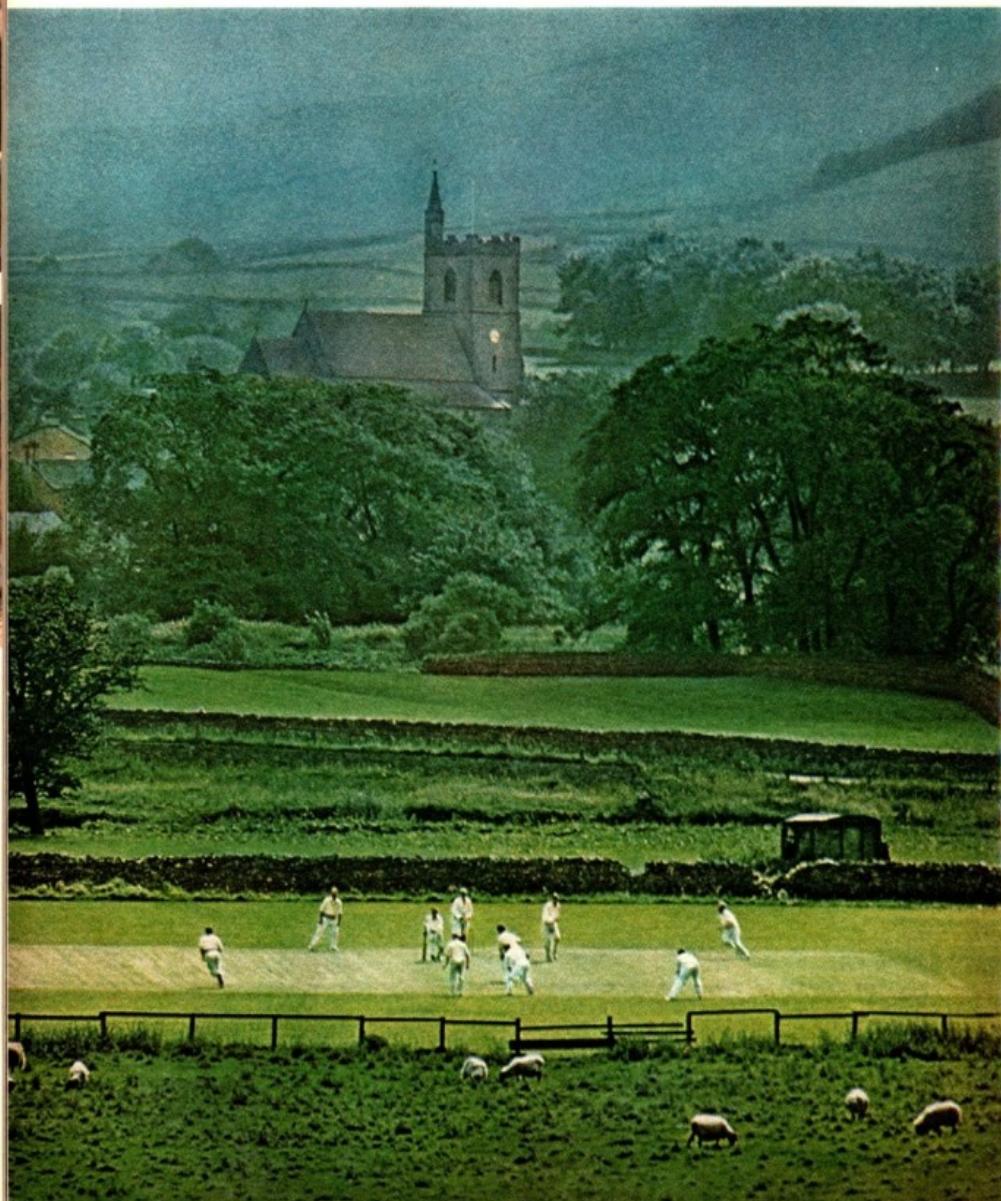


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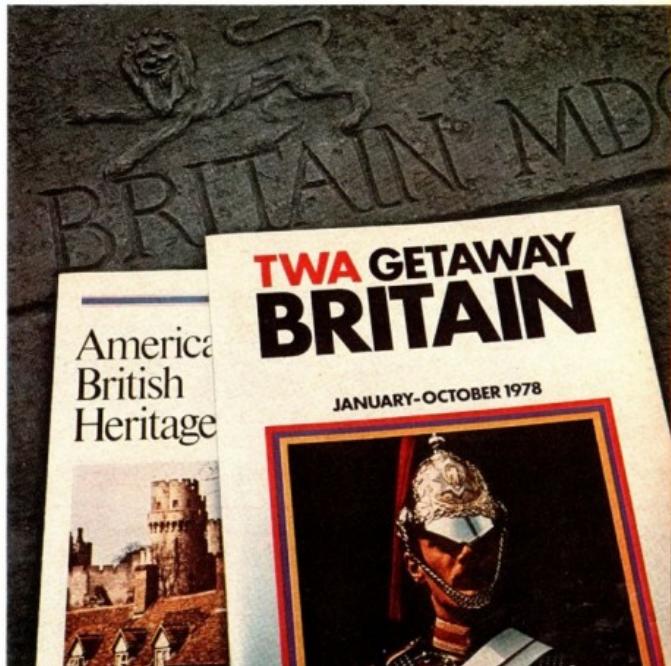
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## Economy & Business

### Bullet-Biting Booster

*Georgia's biggest bank on the losing side*

make the home a very comfortable castle. Food went down from 25.2% to 18.8%. One reason: as people have more money to spend, they spend proportionately less on food. Also, consumers are eating out more; about a third of the food expenditures figured into CPI-U are assumed to pay for restaurant or snack-bar meals v. one-fifth in the old index.

Americans now spend almost as much of their budget (18%) on transportation—air travel, payments on the family car—as they do on food. But the relative importance of clothing purchases dropped from nearly 11% in the old CPI to 5.8% in CPI-U. Some reasons: the average family in the survey is smaller, 2.9 people v. 3.2 in the early 1960s. The population is getting older, and thus buys fewer new clothes. Young people tend to wear casual clothes, which cost less than the party dresses and formal suits of yesteryear.

Though Shiskin clearly regards the new urban consumers' index as the most sensitive measure of price trends, he was unable to get rid of the old index, which includes only wage earners. Labor leaders forced him to keep publishing it, but in revised form. Their argument: figures comparable to those used in the past are needed to determine wage increases under cost of living escalator clauses. Only the performance of the two indexes will show whether they made a wise decision. If CPI-U goes up faster than the new wage-earner index, union members may in the future demand that their wage boosts be tied to the broader measurement.

### AND, IN RUSSIA...

The Kremlin insists that inflation does not exist in the Soviet Union, and there is no Western-style CPI to disprove the claim. Nonetheless, consumer prices are raised at times by state decree; the government represents those changes as progress toward a more rational ordering of the controlled economy. Last week such "progress" cost Soviet consumers dearly.

Coffee drinkers, a minority among tea-drinking Russians, suffered most. The price of a pound soared from \$2.62 to \$13. Gasoline doubled, to \$1.30 per gal., and 4 million private car owners will also pay 30% more to get those autos serviced. Gold-jewelry prices leaped 60%, though the cost of first-time wedding rings will be partly rebated to encourage marriages.

The state-controlled press downplayed these boosts and stressed news of simultaneous price cuts. Many were on goods that few people want, like black-and-white TV sets. State Price Chairman Nikolai Glushkov, who, like other party bosses, can shop in special low-price stores, insisted with a straight face that gasoline was raised by popular demand. Russian drivers, he said, complained that they were paying too little compared with the rest of the world. ■

Atlanta, golden city of the "New New" South, has been showing big veins of pyrite lately. First came the fall from grace of Famous Local Banker Bert Lance. In February a group of banks headed by Manhattan's Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. announced one of the biggest foreclosures in U.S. history; it planned to take over the Omni, a glittering Atlanta complex of offices, swank shops, hotel and ice rink, because the Omni's owners were failing to pay off \$90 mil-

Jr., a legendary go-go banker. At just about that time, a mood of boundless growth infected Atlanta. Beginning in the late 1960s, the number of apartment building permits swelled 133% in three years; first-class hotel-room space doubled in 18 months; downtown office footage grew 30% in a single year. Lane, now 66 and retired, reflects: "It was a boom city that hadn't felt a recession since the war and thought it never would. And then all of a sudden in 1973 it happened."

What happened was that Atlanta simply became overbuilt. New buildings failed to fill up, and high-cost real estate loans went unpaid. Late in 1976 the huge Colony Square commercial-residential redevelopment went bankrupt; last August Lance's National Bank of Georgia skipped a dividend. That same month, C & S cut its own quarterly dividend from 13¢ a share to 6¢. In January it omitted the dividend for the first time since 1966, an alarming step for a bank of its stature. Then the Comptroller of the Currency ruled that even the slim profits C & S had reported for 1977 were illusory.



Atlanta Banker Richard Kattel

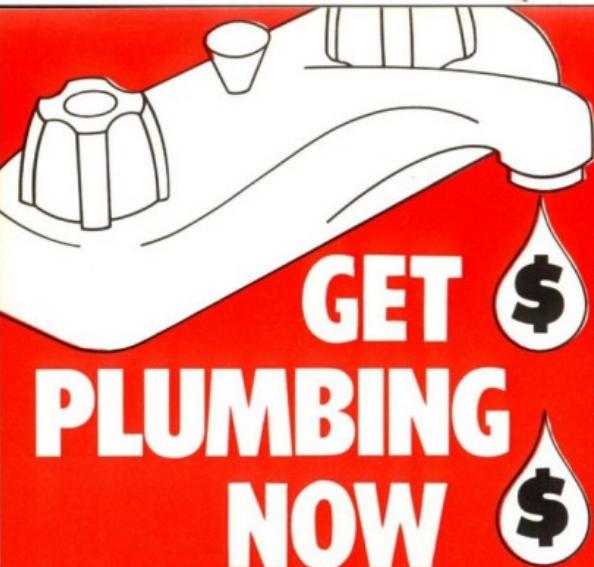
*All of a sudden, it happened.*

lion in debts. And last week Richard Kattel, boy-wonder chairman of Georgia's largest bank, Citizens and Southern National (assets: \$3.5 billion), quit in frustration. His reason: Comptroller of the Currency John G. Heimann, the chief U.S. banking regulator, had just forced C & S to reclassify as questionable an additional \$11 million in loans, mostly on real estate. That will convert the skimpy \$3.2 million profit that the bank reported for 1977 to a \$7.8 million loss.

The bluff, square-jawed Kattel had been something of a symbol of Atlanta's expansive spirit. A youthful president of the city's Chamber of Commerce, he was hand-picked to head C & S five years ago, when he was only 35, by Mills B. Lane

Kattel by no means deserves all the blame. The troubles can be traced largely to Lane's overly liberal lending policies. Lane grants the point, conceding that he forgot all the lessons his banker father drummed into his head about the collapse of the Florida real estate boom of the 1920s. But Kattel had made himself vulnerable through over-optimism: he long refused to write down the value of loans in the bank's faltering portfolio. As C & S head, he had developed the boyish habit of sending symbolic bullets to Atlantans who made tough decisions. He dispatched one to Lance, whom he had helped to raise money for Jimmy Carter's Inauguration, when Lance was grilled by Senate committees about his banking affairs. More important, Kattel made numerous statements that recovery for Atlanta and C & S was just around the corner. When the Comptroller of the Currency questioned loans Kattel had thought sound, Kattel concluded that he had to bite the bullet himself. Said he: "We misjudged both the severity [of the problem] and the timing of the recovery. The frustration to me personally has been immense, and the credibility of the bank and its spokesmen must be restored."

Atlanta and the bank doubtless will survive. The Comptroller judged C & S to be "well-capitalized and sound." Meanwhile, Kattel, like Lance, has been deluged by job offers. As Poet Stephen Vincent Benét wrote about one of Georgia's founding families in *John Brown's Body*, there is a "melancholy pride/ In never choosing the winning side." ■



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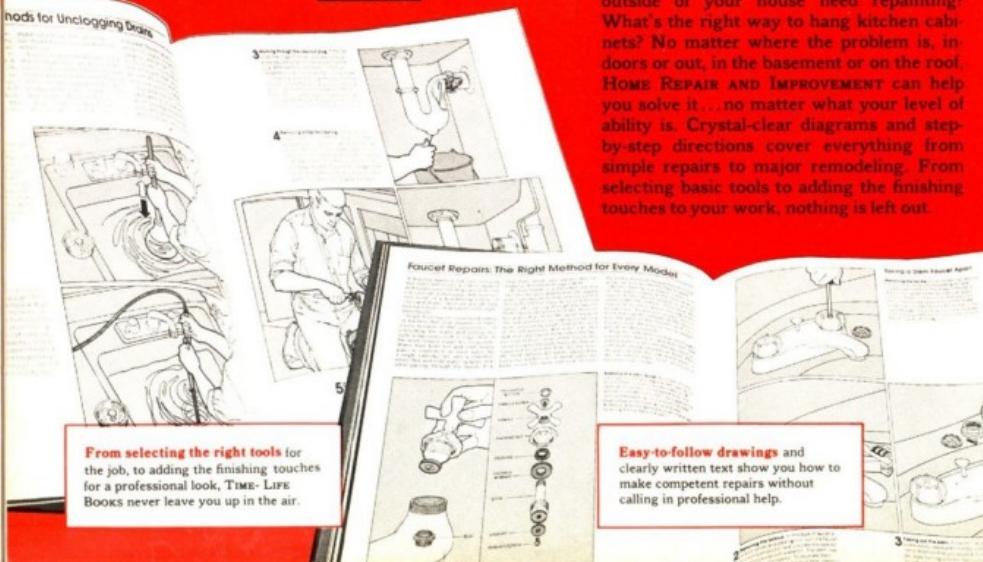
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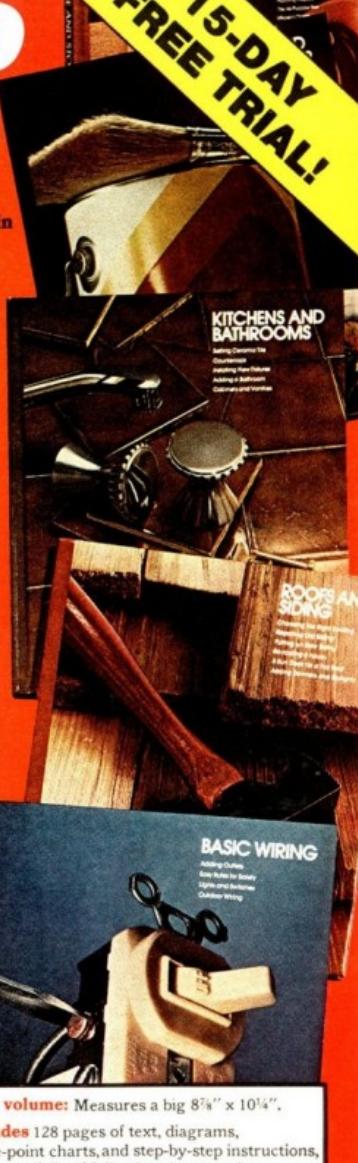
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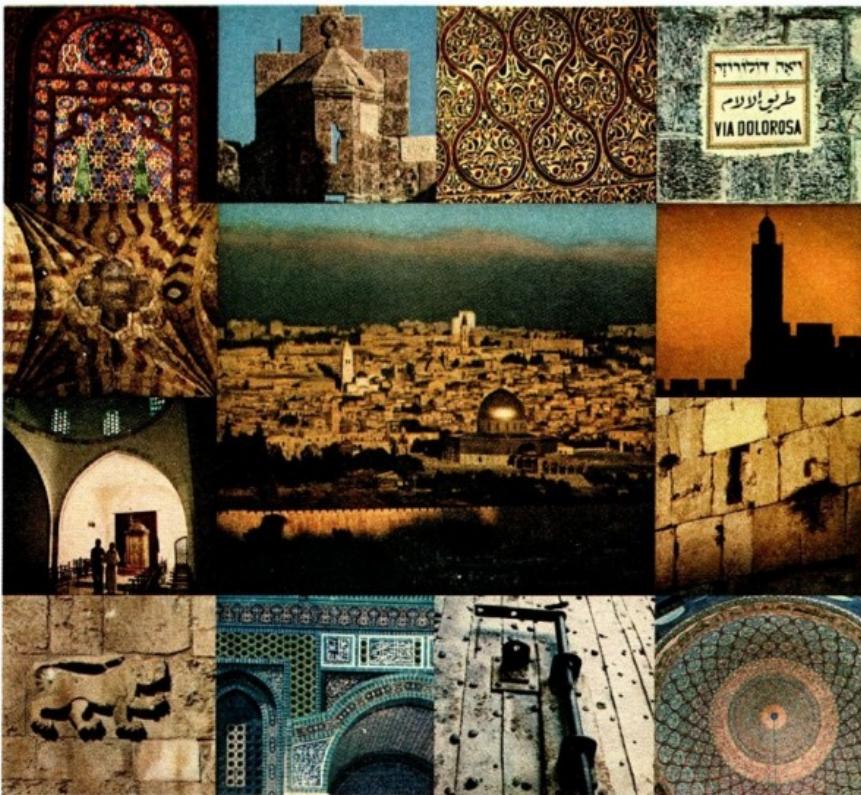
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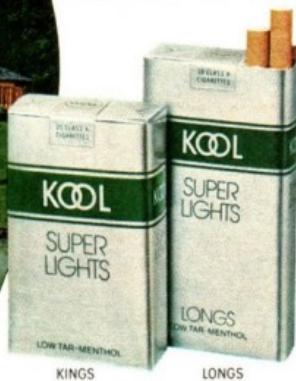
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# Energy

## A Fast Fix for a Scarce Fuel

Liquefied gas is filling the gap, at enormous expense

Long as three football fields, buoyant as a bobbing cork, the *El Paso Sonatrach* will cruise into Chesapeake Bay next week on a historic voyage. The \$100 million tanker will tie up at Cove Point, Md., a once bucolic spot on the western shore of the bay. There, it will discharge liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Arzew, Algeria, into the nation's first supertanker designed specifically to receive LNG.

That will merely be the start. Until now, LNG has arrived in the U.S. only in the form of small shipments made to Boston's Distrigas Corp. to supplement supplies during New England's chilly winters. But from next week on, one of a fleet of nine *El Paso* tankers will deposit LNG at Cove Point roughly every 60 hours. There, the supercold liquid, which arrives at a temperature of 259° F. below zero, will be heated until it turns back into gas, then piped through the networks of Columbia Gas System and Pittsburgh-based Consolidated Natural Gas Co. to 7 million Eastern customers.

Much more may follow. To gas distributors, the logic of importing LNG seems irrefutable. Natural gas is a clean-burning fuel that is relatively scarce in the U.S.; in many foreign countries it gushes out of oilfields in great volume, but is burned off because there is no local market for it. Granted, it cannot be piped across the oceans, but why not liquefy it to one six-hundredth of its normal volume and haul it to the U.S. aboard ship?

The Cove Point plant is only one leg of an immense project known as *El Paso I*. The other leg is a terminal now under construction at Elba Island, near Savannah, Ga., that this summer will begin tak-

ing in 350 million cu. ft. of liquefied Algerian gas daily. The two terminals together will receive 1 billion cu. ft. a day, a rate sufficient to heat the homes of 9 million Americans.

The Department of Energy also has approved plans to land Algerian LNG at Lake Charles, La., and LNG from Indonesia in California. It is considering permitting more LNG to be shipped into Texas and with Canadian approval, New Brunswick, Canada—from which Tenneconce would pipe gas into New England. George H. ("Bud") Lawrence, president of the American Gas Association, predicts that by 1985 the U.S. will be importing altogether 1.6 trillion cu. ft. of gas a year in liquid form, or one-tenth of all the gas it will burn then. Chase Manhattan Bank experts put 1985 imports at 2.2 trillion cu. ft.

**M**aybe—but there are serious obstacles. Though President Carter's national energy plan calls importation of LNG an "important supply option," and the Department of Energy has been approving import projects, officials have serious doubts about the strategic wisdom of allowing too many American consumers to become dependent on the stuff, lest LNG be included in another oil embargo. They are hardly encouraged by the fact that the principal U.S. supplier will be Algeria, one of the most hawkish of the OPEC countries and a nation ruled by a left-wing government that is anything but an ally of the U.S. in foreign policy. Says one senior Energy Department official: "I feel strongly that we shouldn't get hooked on an-

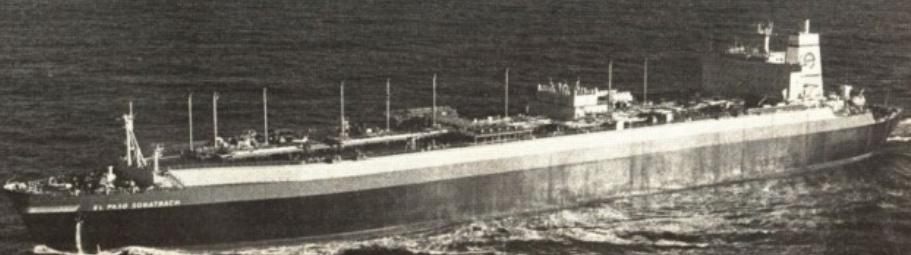
other imported source of energy. It's dreadful."

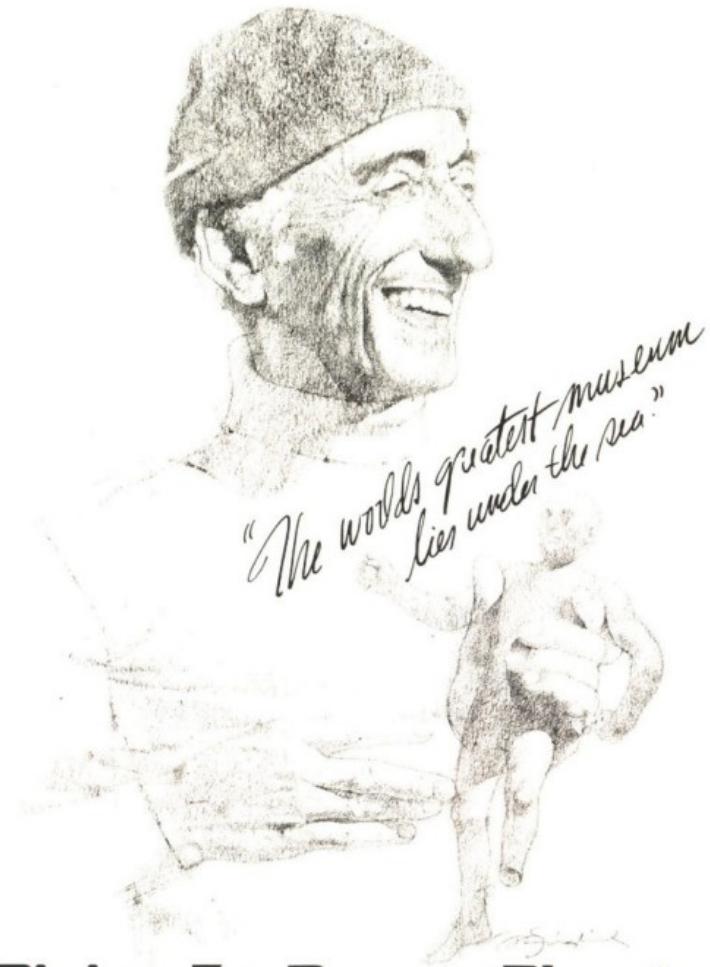
Another problem is price. According to Iranian Premier Jamshid Amouzegar, LNG costs five to six times as much to ship as oil. And that does not count the formidable expense of conversion and storage terminals; the terminal at Cove Point cost \$370 million. Algerian gas costs \$2.37 per 1,000 cu. ft. to deliver to East Coast users; Indonesian LNG will cost \$3.42 delivered in California.

**G**as distributors want to "roll in," or average out, the higher priced imported LNG with the price of domestic gas, currently held by federal regulation to \$1.48 per 1,000 cu. ft. tops. That would hold down the price somewhat, but force the vast majority of customers who will not burn imported gas to pay part of the cost of supplying LNG to those who actually use it. That is indeed the basis on which the first LNG imports have been sold, but Energy Secretary James Schlesinger has denounced the plan as constituting a subsidy for imports. He favors "incremental" pricing—that is, making the people who actually use LNG pay the full cost of importing and converting it. The Government may well force incremental pricing—but will consumers pay?

Finally, there are safety worries. A report by the General Accounting Office due for publication in May takes a dim view of locating LNG terminals in highly populated areas, because of the possibility that leaking liquid might vaporize, ignite and form a deadly fireball. Gasmen report that no one has ever seen such a fireball. John Cabot, chairman of Distrigas, scoffs that a catastrophe is "a lurid image in search of a believable scenario." Whatever their ultimate volume, though, LNG imports are sure to rise; they constitute a supplemental form of energy that the U.S. simply cannot spurn. ■

*El Paso Sonatrach*, a \$100 million tanker that will be the first to haul liquefied natural gas to the U.S. in large quantities





## Diving For Roman Plunder

JOIN CAPTAIN JACQUES COUSTEAU AND THE CALYPSO CREW MARCH 14, ON PBS TELEVISION, AS THEY MAKE AN INCREDIBLE JOURNEY TO THE BOTTOM OF THE AEGEAN SEA, IN SEARCH OF PRICELESS GRECIAN ART STOLEN OVER TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO BY A ROMAN WARSHIP. DIVING FOR ROMAN PLUNDER. A REMARKABLE ADVENTURE THAT REVEALS THE PAST, SO THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY LEARN MORE FROM IT.



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# People



Grace stumps for wildlife

Between acts in Monte Carlo, Her Serene Highness **Princess Grace** is serenely back on the boards in the U.S. for her first American stage appearance since 1952. This time Grace, 48, is helping launch International Wildlife Year by giving a six-city series of poetry readings entitled *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*—with box office receipts going to various charities. Along with her costar, British Actor **Richard Pasco**, Grace gave her first reading in Pittsburgh and had

a tough time making the Kelly pipes project. For her next number after the poetry reading, Grace will oversee the June nuptials of Daughter **Caroline** and **Philippe Junot** from a seat on the aisle.

"Your legs turn to rubber, the distance between you and second base looks so long you want to call a cab," said St. Louis Cardinals Leftfielder **Lou Brock**, recalling his feelings during his last year's try at Ty

Cobb's base-stealing record. Brock surpassed Cobb's total of 892 in August, filched seven more bases before the season ended, and last week donated his record-breaking shoes to baseball's Hall of Fame. At 38, the Sultan of Swipe pronounces: "The game's still a lot of fun, and I'm still one step ahead of the crowd." And one behind his next record, most likely. With his 1,658 career strikeouts, Brock is only 52 whiffs away from Titleholder **Mickey Mantle**.



A shoe-in for a new record, Brock donates a pair to the Hall of Fame



Back at the White House, Horowitz is declared a national treasure

The invitation to play in the Carter White House came soon after the Inauguration, but Pianist **Vladimir Horowitz** took a rain check. For his second stint at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue (the first played there in 1931 for Herbert Hoover), the maestro wanted to celebrate the 50th anniversary of his S.U.S. debut. And so he did, last week, thundering our fortissimi to an audience packed with the likes of **Isaac Stern**, **Andrés Segovia** and **Mstislav Rostropovich**. Carter, recalling the cherished Horowitz recording he had as a midshipman, said of his guest artist: "A true national treasure."

Sibling rivalry between spiritual leaders? Well yes, between the **Maharaj Ji**, a.k.a. Perfect Master, and his eldest brother, **Shri Satyapal Ji** (Truth Incarnate). In India they are often regarded as export gurus aimed at the Western market, but in the U.S. the baby-faced Maharaj Ji, now 20, was once worshipped as the Lord of the Universe by 50,000 or so dev-



Truth Incarnate on the job

otees of the Divine Light Mission. In 1975 his mother, **Matiji**, disapproving of his playboy ways and his marriage to an airline stewardess, deposed him in favor of his brother. Since then the name of the organization in the U.S. has been changed to the Spiritual Life Society, and it has been struggling to hold on to its dwindling following (about 200). To rally the faithful, Truth Incarnate spoke at Manhattan's Society for Ethical Culture: "A potter can make many, many pots, but many, many pots can't make a potter." The thrust of his pop-psychology? "Life is not complete till you acquire a master." Also, Big Brother knows best.

## On the Record

**Pat Haden**, Los Angeles Rams quarterback, on his Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford: "The Rhodes has made football seem less important to me; it brings it down to earth."

**Benjamin Hooks**, executive director of the N.A.C.P., at a gathering of governors: "There's a great lie abroad that black people don't want to work. I have an idea. You give us the jobs and we'll give you the welfare and see how you like that for a while."

**Gustav Husák**, President of Czechoslovakia, denouncing criticism of the 30th anniversary of the Communist coup: "There is an Arab proverb: 'The dogs bark, but the caravan continues on its way.'"



Crude settlement built by volunteers in Wiltshire; compound includes cone-shaped communal hut (left) and buildings for animals and storage

MIKE MELLIS

## Behavior

### Reliving the Iron Age in Britain

*Volunteers turn back the clock for the BBC*

**H**elen Elphick stands in the rain at the edge of a 6-ft. pile of cow dung, feeding two grotesque pigs, both part wild boar. Inside the smoky communal hut, couples in hides and rough wool garments squat around the fire, spit-roasting a heavy pork leg and preparing sausages and black pudding made from skin, offal and gut. John Rossetti sheds his clothes, steps into a wood tub and begins to scrub off five days' grime with clay and hot water. John Rockcliff enters through the goatskin door, carrying a rat he has caught. It will be on the menu tomorrow.

These young Britons are not members of a hippie commune, but volunteers for an experiment in Iron Age living, sponsored and filmed by the BBC and now on English television as a twelve-part series. Isolated deep in the <sup>ancient</sup> Wiltshire woods, they have spent nearly a year trying to re-create the lives of their Celtic ancestors of 2,200 years ago.

BBC Producer John Percival, an archaeology buff, conceived the project after a visit to a reconstructed Iron Age

settlement in Lejre, Denmark. From 1,000 volunteers, Percival selected six couples and trained them in Celtic crafts and culture. One couple, with the commune's only children, three boys, braved it for much of the year but quit the experiment several months ago. The others have stayed on, raising crops and livestock, making pottery, cooking Iron Age food and spinning and weaving wool sheared from their own sheep.

To Percival's surprise, the volunteers, "who had sat on their asses most of their lives," coped gracefully with primitive life. Building the communal hut took more than two months. Using ancient tools, the group chopped wood for 72 rafters, fashioned a conical thatched roof and sides out of wattle (interwoven hazel branches) and daub (mud and animal hair). Making a loaf of bread the Celtic way took nearly a day. Fashioning clay storage pots took longer, and the earthenware pottery tended to crack over the fire—until the novices got the hang of their craft. Says Helen Elphick: "We were all very frustrated."



Food utensils carved by settlers



Ainsworth cleaning son's teeth with twig

The volunteers grew peas, beans, buckwheat and flax, and raised chickens, goats, pigs and cattle. They kept bees in wicker hives for their honey, and traded pottery and baby goats to the film crew for rations of salt and butter. Food storage was a constant problem. At times, the group had to eat maggoty meat and cope with invasions of rats.

Doing things "proper Iron Age" became the commune's buzz words. A sieve made out of animal hair was allowed—the Celts might have devised it. But when John Rossetti made a chair, Percival destroyed it. Says he: "It was too early to have thought up such a thing." Martin Elphick, a doctor from Kent, pursued primitive medicine, treating flu with violet and willow bark, headaches with valerian root, and asthma with deadly nightshade. The Iron Agers developed their own dyes, apple-tree bark for yellow, the yew tree



John Rossetti serving lunch of bread and milky soup of chicken, hare, parsnips and herbs; leg of pork roasting



for orange, lichens for brown and green.

For amusement, the Iron Agers told stories, played the lyre, pipe and drums, and competed at "Nine Men's Morris," an ancient board game. Sarah Rockcliff, who dearly missed her afternoon tea, made do with brews of dandelion or mint.

A year of communal living with scant privacy produced close friendships, a good deal of casual nudity, and a strong taboo against swapping sexual partners. The group talked and moved more slowly and became more superstitious, although members found it hard to sustain an interest in the Celtic religion. "I still can't pray to their gods and goddesses," says John Rockcliff. "It takes more than a year to leave this century."

**D**espite the general rule against modern conveniences—no electricity, plumbing, newspapers, cigarettes or soap—the 20th century kept intruding. British education authorities ruled that schoolbooks had to be available for the children, and laws demanded that a butcher come in to stun and slaughter the pigs. TV crews appeared on the scene about twice a week. Percival allowed the volunteers to use Tampax and contraceptives, sent in a doctor four times during emergencies, and took the group for a summer outing at the shore. Said he: "No one's life should suffer or be altered for a television show."

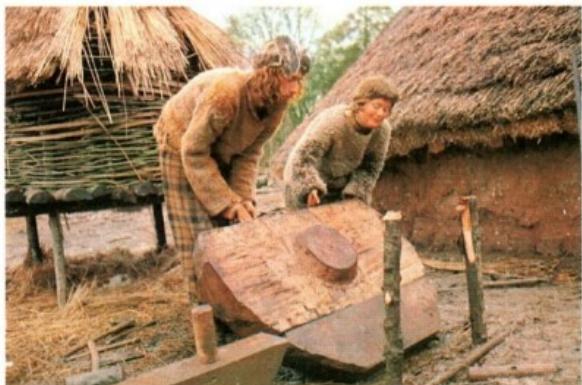
The couple who dropped out, Peter and Lindsay Ainsworth, could not agree more. The Ainsworths—he is a former union official, she is a hairdresser and yoga teacher—are vegetarians, and nestled their fellow Iron Agers by refusing

to kill animals or eat meat. Lindsay represented some of the restrictions. One rule barred beverages between mealtimes, because there was no evidence that Iron Age people snacked.

Last summer the Ainsworths' five-year-old son developed a persistent rectal disorder. The commune wanted to vote on whether the family should stay or go, but the Ainsworths balked at the notion of group control and left. Was that a proper Iron Age decision? Says Lindsay: "An Iron Age mother would have attended to her child, especially if it was a boy." A spe-

cialist later reported that the primitive diet had produced the ailment, which contemporary meals promptly cleared up.

Lindsay recalls the pressure of confinement and the constant bickering during the experiment. "We had nothing else to take up our thinking time," she says. Still, she misses the animals and the plants, and the continuing story about trees that she told the children at night-time around the fire. "It developed into a saga, and now that's gone." The children are less nostalgic. They now refer to the Celtic experience as a "silly time." ■



Peter Little and Jill Grainger making wooden cartwheel with handmade tools  
Willow bark for flu, clay for bathing, rats for supper and a silly time for children.



Manager Billy Martin and Outfielder Reggie Jackson discuss future



Jackson pauses between autographs to kiss Fort Lauderdale fan

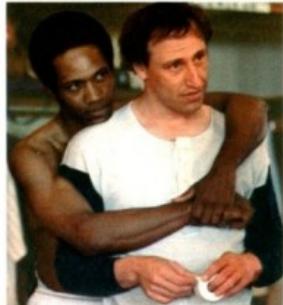
## Sport

### Togetherness in Fort Lauderdale

All is sweetness and light as the Yanks start training

Faithful followers of sporting soap opera will recall that, when last we saw the New York Yankees, they were flush with World Series victory but scarcely aglow with brotherly love. Catcher-Captain Thurman Munson, the man who hated Reggie Jackson's top-capping, wanted to be traded to Cleveland, a move that only an Akron, Ohio, native could cherish. Starting Pitcher Ed Figueroa, snubbed in the Series rotation, emptied his locker and departed before the champagne was uncorked. Amidst the celebration, Owner George Steinbrenner barely managed to conceal the pink slip he had prepared for Manager Billy Martin. Series Pitching Hero Mike Torrez promptly became the first free agent to leave New York, departing for the Boston Red Sox, the Yankees' deadly rivals in the American League East.

Even baseball's trial separation, the winter off-season, produced problems in the Yankees' big, unhappy family. Steinbrenner plunged once more into the free-agent market and, two megalomaniacs later, became the proud owner of Rich Gossage, the Pittsburgh Pirates' fireballing relief pitcher, and Rawly Eastwick of the St. Louis Cardinals, who had an off year in 1977 but was the League's top reliever



Outfielder Paul Blair and Pitcher Holtzman

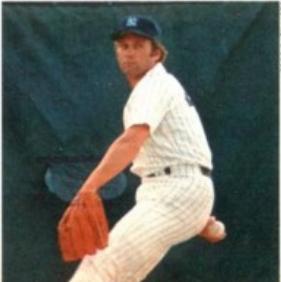
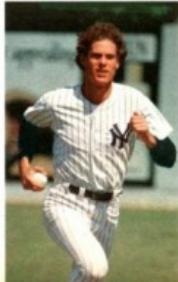
for the Reds in 1976. Since the American League's No. 1 fireman, Cy Young Winner Sparky Lyle, was already in Yankee employ, Steinbrenner's bullpen overkill brought immediate—and pained—reaction. Lyle paused between banquet speeches long enough to scream, "Trade me!"

When the Yankees convened an early, optional training camp for pitchers and

catchers, Lyle was, as usual, absent; for Free Spirit Sparky spring always comes late. He needs less time to get in shape than most pitchers and has used the delay to concoct elaborate arrivals, threatening to land on the pitcher's mound in a helicopter or hobbling to camp swathed in plaster of paris casts. But this year, Steinbrenner decided to exercise his Prussian sense of humor. He castigated the pitcher to reporters on the grounds that Lyle had a contractual obligation to report to camp early. Actually, Lyle was not bound to report until March 4. When he showed up—four days ahead of the contract deadline—Steinbrenner dispatched a high school band to the airport to play *Pomp and Circumstance*, while majorettes high-kicked their greetings. No man to be taken aback, Lyle quickly snuggled into the chorus line.

Aside from the Lyle contretemps, this season's assembling of the cast in Fort Lauderdale has proceeded, by recent Yankee standards, like a love-in. For an entire week one and all behaved as though Norman Vincent Peale were in the locker room. Jackson reported to camp early in his silver and blue Rolls-Royce Corniche and shook hands all around with egalitarian humor. Thurman Munson managed not to insult anyone through the simple expedient of keeping his mouth shut. "I'm not talking today," he said, day after day. Expensive Benchwarmer Ken Holtzman arrived sans his cavalryman's mustache, perhaps hoping that Martin

Pitchers Lyle, Eastwick, Messersmith and Hunter loosen up in Florida and wonder how the work will be divided in New York



might mistake him for a fresh-faced rookie and allow him to throw a baseball. Last year Holtzman, a former 20-game winner, earned his \$165,000 salary by spending 72 innings on the mound and the rest of the season in Martin's doghouse. Martin and Steinbrenner, principal antagonists in last year's psychodrama, publicly praised each other's baseball genius. Said Martin: "I don't think there's going to be much controversy this year."

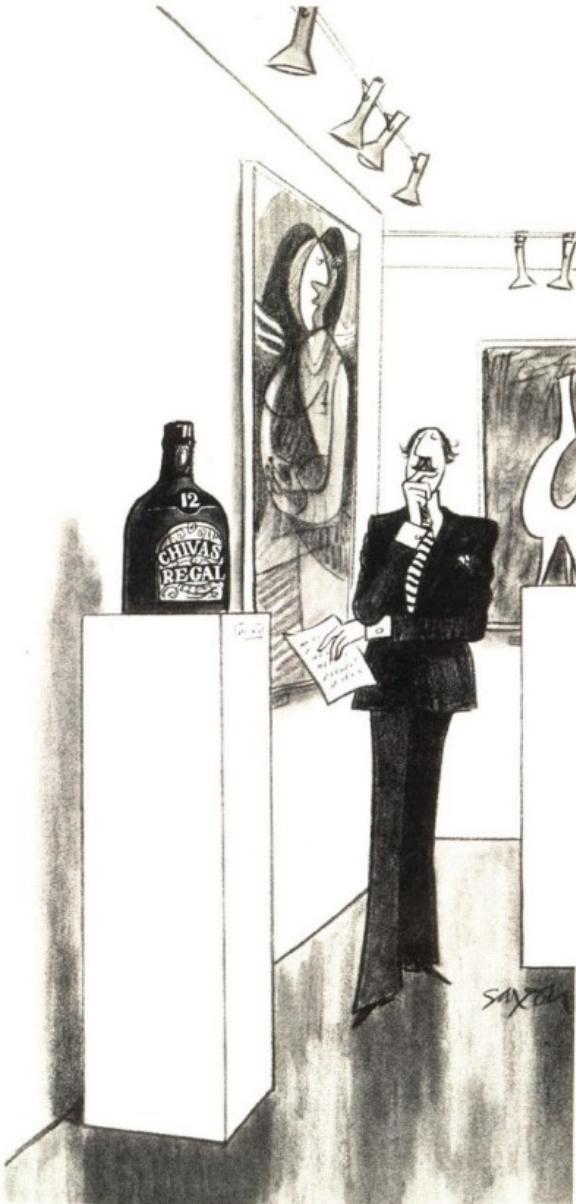
The sweetness and light left Yankee newcomers somewhat bewildered. Re-marked Backup First Baseman Jim Spencer: "Every day I keep looking around for someone to take a swing at someone else, and I haven't seen it. Considering what I read in the paper last year, I'm surprised." Reserve Catcher Fran Healy, last season's peacemaker, laughs off such wretched expectations: "There's not as much shooting here as in a Clint Eastwood movie, but we do our best."

Still, even Steinbrenner himself acknowledges: "It's not going to be without incident this year. I'm not a utopian." Indeed, there are genuine seeds of discontent in his overstaffed pitching corps. The Yankees have assembled a roll call of stars; the problem will be finding room in the sky for all of them. Lyle's trade talk was prompted by the fact that he claims to need almost daily stints on the mound to maintain his effectiveness. The same is true of Gossage and Eastwick. Says Gossage: "There's enough work for Sparky and me, but I don't know if there is enough work for the three of us. I don't know what the Yankees had in mind."

**W**hat Martin has in mind is to employ the strategy pioneered by Reds' Manager Sparky Anderson: pull his starters after six innings or so in order to feed the talented bullpen. That tactic could save fragile arms, but it will prevent healthy pitchers from going the full nine innings that build stats—and egos. No less an expert than Lyle acknowledges: "Show me a starting pitcher who doesn't like to finish what he starts. They all do."

For all its potential problems, Martin's strategy could prove the wisest course. The Yankees' biggest arms were very sore last season. Catfish Hunter had shoulder problems and a 9-9 record, his worst in nearly a decade. His return could be hobbled by a new problem: he has diabetes. But team doctors stress that his condition can be controlled with medication, and other top athletes have played successfully despite the disease.\* Don Gullett also struggled through last season with shoulder miseries, and newly acquired Andy Messersmith underwent off-season elbow surgery. If healthy, however, the Yankee pitchers could be awesome: together they have won 443 major league games. That should be good enough for another fun-filled and tension-packed episode of *As the World Series Turns*. ■

\*Among them: Philadelphia Flyer Bobby Clarke, Tennis Star Bill Talbert and Chicago Cubs Third Baseman Ron Santo.



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# Medicine

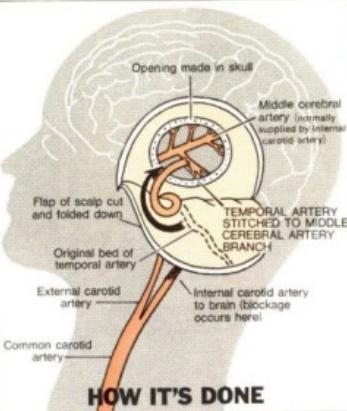
## Bypass for the Brain

Delicate microsurgery may prevent strokes

With advancing age, as the arteries leading to the brain become more and more clogged by fatty deposits, the chances grow that a clot may form in one of the narrowed passages, cutting off the flow of blood to a region of the brain. The result may be a stroke, which could lead to loss of memory or speech, paralysis, and even death. For this type of patient, few treatments are available, though doctors sometimes prescribe anti-coagulants to lessen the chance of clotting. Yet, since 1967, teams of skilled neurosurgeons have been performing exquisitely delicate brain-artery bypass operations on such stroke-prone patients. They have also been meticulously monitoring these patients, comparing their progress with that of others who have not been surgically treated. Their preliminary finding: the operation appears to offer protection against strokes—the U.S.'s third leading cause of death—but further evaluation is needed.

The operation offers little hope for people who have survived major strokes that have caused severe, lifelong disability. It is designed for those who have suffered minor strokes or who show early warning signs of trouble. In these patients the brain-artery bypass may avert death or a crippling attack that would require long and costly rehabilitation.

According to Dr. James I. Ausman, head of the University of Minnesota team that reported on its bypass studies at a recent stroke conference in New Orleans, there are six danger signals that may precede a major stroke: passing episodes, lasting from minutes to several hours, of 1) numbness in a limb or the face; 2) weakness or drooping on one side of the body; 3) speech difficulties; 4) blurring of vision, usually in one eye; 5) dizziness and dou-



HOW IT'S DONE

TIME Diagram by V. Puglisi

ble vision; or 6) severe headache and a stiff neck. Anyone who experiences such "little strokes" should visit a physician promptly. Many of these premonitory strokes result from a blockage in the internal carotid artery above the jaw line, where it is beyond reach of the scalpel. Thus the obstruction may be treatable only by a difficult bypass, diverting blood to the brain from outside the skull. For this procedure, Ausman and other neurosurgeons use part of the temporal artery, which ascends in front of the ear and then divides, one branch carrying blood to the forehead and the eye socket, the other to the scalp. First they cut and fold down a flap of scalp above the ear. In the process, they sever the artery and separate it from the scalp. (Other vessels

supply blood to the region above the severed artery.) Next, they saw out a piece of skull, about the size of a half-dollar, to expose one of the arteries on the surface of the brain. Usually the vessel is a branch of the middle cerebral artery, an extension of the internal carotid.

Now comes some demanding microsurgery. The exposed artery is clamped in two places, leaving a blood-free gap 1 to 2 cm (up to about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in.) long into which the freed segment of the temporal artery is sewn. This maneuver requires 20 stitches with thread finer than a human hair and barely visible to the naked eye. (The blood vessels are so thin—no thicker than an ordinary pencil lead—that the surgeon must peer through a microscope while joining them together.) Then, when the cerebral artery branch is unclamped, additional blood spurts into the brain. Finally, the surgeon closes the hole by restoring the skin flap; usually the excised piece of bone is discarded, but patients rarely suffer any discomfort from the soft spot.

Probably 3,000 bypasses have been performed so far, most of them in Switzerland, where the operation originated, and in the U.S., Canada and Germany. Still, doctors point out that these patients have not yet been studied long enough to determine for sure whether the surgery is superior to other treatment or even to none at all. These very questions will now be examined in detail by an international team of neuroscientists led by Dr. H.J.M. Barnett of University Hospital, London, Ont., and financed by the U.S. National Institutes of Health. The team expects to study 1,000 stroke-prone patients in medical centers round the world. Half of them will receive the operation; the other half will get conventional therapy, which in some cases may be nothing more than aspirin. After five years of close observation, the survey should tell whether the operation is really as promising as the preliminary findings indicate. ■

## Sweet Risk?

A lifetime loss of two days

Like all consumers of diet soda, University of Pittsburgh Physicist Bernard L. Cohen had every reason to be worried by the Canadian animal studies last year. The results seemed to indicate that the saccharin in low-calorie drinks and other artificially sweetened products would increase the risk of human bladder cancer. But, as a longtime researcher, Cohen knew that experimental results can often be misleading—and sometimes misinterpreted.

Whipping out his pocket calculator, Cohen set out to compare the risk of continuing the consumption of diet soda with that of returning to ordinary high-calorie drinks. For starters, he writes in *Science*, he used projections made from the Canadian study. These showed that there would be 1,200 extra bladder cancers a year if each person in the U.S. drank one twelve-ounce diet drink per day for his entire life. Then Cohen divided the total number of cancers in the population by the total number of drinks. He multiplied the result by an average reduction of life expectancy due to cancer—of 20 years. In that way, he determined that the diet soda habit would reduce life expectancy by

about nine seconds per drink (as opposed to about twelve minutes for every cigarette), or about two days over a lifetime.

Using life insurance statistics showing that for every pound of excess weight there is a loss in life expectancy of one month, Cohen went on to estimate the consequences of drinking cans or bottles of ordinary soda pop (which contain about 100 calories, v. no calories for the diet soda). The results of all these comparative calculations were decidedly in favor of the saccharin-spiked drinks. Says Cohen: "If all other things were unchanged, the substitution of diet for nondiet drinks would increase life expectancy by 100 times more than the cancer risk reduced it." ■

# Education

## Oxford's Ancient Quality Act

At age 500, the University Press just keeps rollin' along

**F**ourteen years before Columbus sighted America—in 1478, to be precise—the first book cranked off the press of a printer named Theodoric Rood in Oxford, England. Its title was *Expositio Sancti Hieronymi in Symbolum Apostolorum*. Its subject was the Apostles' Creed, and it marked the birth of what would become the oldest and most venerable publishing house in the English-speaking world: the Oxford University Press.

Five hundred years later, the press is still in the classics business; Ovid's *Ars Amatoria, Book I*, for example, is a recent offering. But the Oxford imprint now spans all of human knowledge, from the longest word in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (floccinaucinihilipilification, the act of estimating as worthless) to tomes as obscure as Zoologist Arthur Young's *Anatomy of the Nervous System of Octopus Vulgaris*, which sells 15 copies a year. The largest academic press in the world, Oxford has 3,000 staffers working in Britain and in 23 overseas branches from New York to Nigeria. It sells some \$88 million each year of scholarly treatises, textbooks, reference works, sheet music and Bibles, and its gargantuan list of books in print encompasses 17,000 titles.

In honor of its quincentennial, Oxford has mounted a traveling exhibit of some 250 artifacts and illustrious works from the five centuries. Aptly, since the semi-independent New York branch is Oxford's largest offspring, the exhibit is opening this week at New York's Pierpont Morgan Library, across from Oxford's American headquarters. There, from March 8 through May 7, visitors can gaze at Rood's *Expositio*, the first Oxford Bible (dated 1675) and *A Map of Virginia, With a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion*, written by Captain John Smith of Jamestown fame and published in 1612.

Also on display is the first book printed by the New York branch, a 1909 *Scofield Reference Bible* (a King James Bible edited by American Evangelical Preacher Cyrus Scofield). Established in 1896, the New York press now specializes in American history and culture, including jazz and black studies. One of its bestselling works: *The European Discovery of America* (1971, 2 vols.) by the late Samuel Eliot Morison.

For the parent publishing company, headquarters is a somber neoclassical building of yellow Worcester stone on Oxford's Walton Street. An unincorporated business without stockholders, the press is owned by the university, and governed by 19 "delegates." Oxford dows picked for their ability to sift through scholarly

manuscripts and select for publication the superior one in ten. The press's entire profits, \$7.5 million last year, are plowed back into the production of more books.

For centuries scholarship ranked first and sales a poor second. A Coptic Bible published in 1716 admittedly appealed to a very select audience—primarily theologians. Only 500 copies were run off, and the last did not sell until 1907, a patient 191 years later. Then there was Müller's *Certain Variations in the Vocal Organs of the Passerines that have Hitherto Escaped Notice*, which Charles Darwin persuaded the press to print in 1878. Fortunately, Darwin was not a publishing executive. In 25 years only 21 volumes were sold.

**I**t was the Bible that made Oxford's fortune. Kings and canons alike were upset by such slipshod jobs as the so-called Wickbold Bible of 1631, which contained one of history's worst typos: the word not was omitted from the seventh commandment, making it read, "Thou shalt commit adultery." In 1636 the Crown appointed Oxford an official Bible publisher of the realm. (Another was the rival Cambridge University Press, an upstart established in 1521.) While the Bible has been the press's all-time bestseller (countless millions of copies), the delegates view their massive, 13-volume dictionary as their greatest achievement and call it the "repository of the language." Sir James Murray, a Scottish schoolmaster turned philologist, began the project in 1879, amassing the entries of 1,000 word sleuths on index

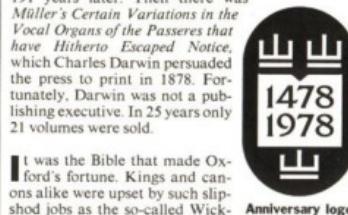
cards. Murray died in 1915, at the letter R, but his staff carried on and in 1928 published the last volume, signing off with zymurgy (the process of fermentation). The final total: 414,825 words.

From that mighty trunk many branches grew—18 versions in all, including concise, condensed and pocket-size models produced under the watchful eyes of 30 lexicographers. Last year Oxford won a lucrative, 32,500-volume order for its concise version when the buyer for a large British chain, wondering if the dictionary was really up to date, demanded to know whether the word streaker (a naked runner) was included. It was.

With inflation doubling printing costs and modern scholars more likely to run off copies of some obscure texts on the Xerox machine than to invest in costly slip-covered volumes, Oxford has been forced to pay attention to balance sheets. "Our overriding concern is to publish learned books," Christ Church Dean Henry Chadwick, a delegate for 19 years, told TIME London Correspondent Erik Amfitheatrof. "But it's clear you can't do that unless you stay in the black."

The press has been moving toward works of wider appeal, four-color paperback covers and a broad range of authors whose books may support the scholarly works. Editors no longer consider it beneath their dignity to offer advances and outbid other publishers. The press at Oxford eventually may even break a 500-year taboo and publish the novel of a living author.

But there is one tradition that the press's guardians vow not to break: that of their commitment to quality. "Our greatest asset is our reputation," says Sales Manager George Depotex. Without that, the whole enterprise might well be vulnerable to floccinaucinihilipilification. ■



Anniversary logo



Main gate, with scholarly quadrangle beyond, at press headquarters in Oxford  
Bestselling Bibles and dictionaries, but also one book that sold 21 copies in 25 years.



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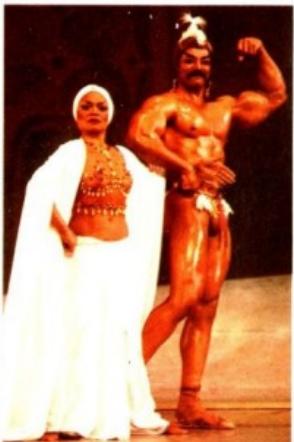
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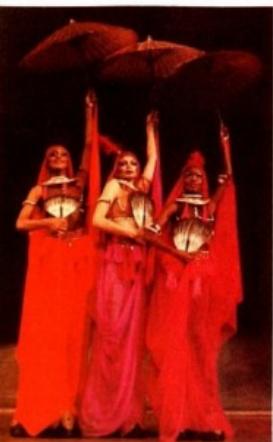


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# Theater



Eartha Kitt and stalwart escort



Three princesses from *Timbuktu*

## Hootchy-Koo

TIMBUKTU!

Directed, Choreographed  
and Costumed by Geoffrey Holder

Almost everyone has heard of zero population growth and zero-base budgeting. To judge by last month's *On the Twentieth Century* and last week's *Timbuktu*, Broadway is rapidly nearing ZPM—zero quality musicals.

One problem is that Broadway scarcely ever engenders a totally new musical these days. It rehearses old ones or injects old plays with songs and dances. The most popular recent marketing device is to turn originally all-white musicals into all-black musicals. In the current instance the show is based on *Kismet*, and the locale has been changed from Baghdad to Africa, though the basic beat and mood of the musical are Caribbean. That is not too surprising, since Director-Choreographer-Costumer Geoffrey Holder was born in Trinidad.

Holder throws bolts and bolts of gaudy cloth over a production, possibly to hide its flaws. With *The Wiz* it worked, since the show had a story line that could be playfully transposed to a jazzy urban-ghetto setting. But *Kismet* was a fable, and fables are too fragile for Holder's broad, jumping, visceral style.

Even the real 1953 *Kismet* probably could not stand up in 1978. A simple damsel (Melba Moore) with a poetic thirst for a father (Ira Hawkins) ascends, through incredible accidents, to become the bride of the king of the realm (Gilbert Price) despite the machinations of the Wazir

(George Bell) and his concubine Wife of Wives (Eartha Kitt). Give Kitt credit for delivering sexily insinuating lines with the mocking irony of Mae West.

Despite *Baubles, Bangles and Beads* and *Stranger in Paradise*, the voices are notable only for amplification. At any moment, the drums bursting in the orchestra are probably in one's ears. Except for a rather lyrical mating dance done in beautifully evocative bird costumes by Eleanor McCoy and Miguel Godreau, the choreography is basic hootchy-kootchy. The undress is almost more spectacular than the dress. A stunningly lovely female chorus line visibly advances the cause of the see-through top, and the virile, muscular men may restore to fashion the jeweled codpiece.

—T.E. Kalem

## Scalp Tingler

DEATHTRAP  
by Ira Levin

The murder-mystery thriller is a theatrically endangered species. Seasons go by without one, and there have been seven lean years since the last dandy scalp tingler, *Sleuth*. *Deathtrap* is a congenial successor—literate, amusing, booby-trapped with scary surprises, a brimming tumbler of arsenic and Schweppes.

Actually, no one is poisoned. Garroting and flendishly induced heart attacks are more the tools of this particular evening of murder. Oh yes, and a handsomely lethal crossbow.

The rule in reviewing thrillers is to be elusive. Tell the beginning but never

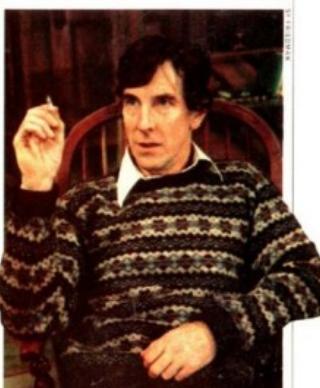
tell the middle and the end. In the beginning, Sidney Bruhl (John Wood) is a guileful craftsman of stage thrillers who has a writer's block. It's a fairly long block, almost as wide and arid as the Sahara. For 17 years he has failed to concoct a Broadway hit.

An ardent acolyte and student in Bruhl's writing seminar has just sent him a murder mystery that makes Bruhl greedy with envy. To the young man, Clifford Anderson (Victor Garber), Bruhl proffers collaboration, an older man's sophisticated nurture of a sapling script. Refused. To his staunchly supportive wife Myra (Marian Seldes), Bruhl speculates about taking Anderson's life, swiping the sole copy of the manuscript and presenting it as his own.

After this, the plot coils around the characters like a boa constrictor and embraces the audience in fun and terror. One of the subsidiary characters is Helga ten Dorp (Marian Winters), a psychic who prophesies events with a certain deadly inaccuracy. Winters makes her the most consummately droll zany since Mildred Natwick, as Mme. Arcati, had close encounters with a nether world in *Noël Coward's Blithe Spirit*.

One secret must be disclosed. John Wood is stupendous. He can crack a syllable like kindling across his tongue and start a bonfire of hilarity coursing through the house. He walks as if his legs were malingering splints. The theater as a metaphor for murder is the ironic undertheme of the play. It stands out in bold relief on Wood's face. Well, in popular U.S. mythology, are not the playwrights the victims and the critics the assassins? If you care to assassinate yourself with laughter, try *Deathtrap*.

—T.E. Kalem



John Wood in *Deathtrap*  
*Arsenic and Schweppes*

# Living

## Stained Glass, Back and Blooming

Old skills and new techniques

"To beholde hit was gret joye."

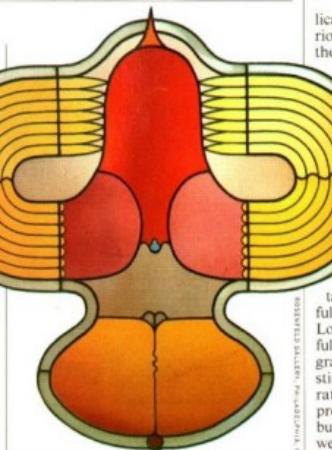
—Chaucer, describing his "wel-y-glaes'd" chamber.

The shimmering lights and the shifting imagery of stained-glass have entranced the eye and expanded the imagination since the evolution of the art some 16 centuries ago. Today, as pervasively as sunshine pouring through the great windows of Chartres, the resurgent art and craft of stained glass is irradiating the American scene.

In this decade, the challenge of this once and future form has attracted a vast legion of artists, students and collectors. In the U.S., there are now 5,000 professionals working in glass and, according to Patrick White, president of the St. Louis-based Stained Glass Association of America, at least 100,000 hobbyists; ten years ago there were fewer than 100. The output of artists and amateurs is becoming highly visible in offices and stores, schools, courthouses, chapels, restaurants, apartment buildings and homes. The pieces may be room dividers, skylights or side lights, bathtub screens, doors, windows or—most significantly—hanging or freestanding "autonomous" works that can be displayed like paintings or sculptures or suspended in front of windows. As Lithuanian-born Artist Albinas Elskus notes: "You can actually suspend an image in mid-air. You cannot find any other material that does that."



Richard Posner's *The Big Enchilada* 1975



Philadelphia's Ray King's *Bird Piece* 1976

A distinctive, irradiating form.

At the first major exhibition of its kind ever mounted in New York City, the Museum of Contemporary Crafts is showing 33 pieces of "New Stained Glass," devoted to small, "personal" works by leading artists that range from Miró-esque abstraction to ribald political satire. One offbeat work by Californian Richard Posner, 29, is called *The Big Enchilada* 1975; it depicts in allegorical terms the White House infighting over Watergate. A similar show at the Pacific Design Center in Los Angeles drew 2,000 people on weekends, while another recent exhibition in the Washington suburb of Reston was jammed during its six-week run.

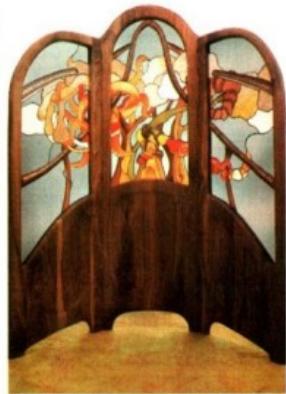
Glass mania infects people of all ages, occupations and educational backgrounds. However, most of the professionals are young. One of the most innovative artists in the field, Bay Area-based Paul Marioni, 36, had previously worked as a garage body-and-fender man (though he has degrees in English and philosophy). Ecuador-born Frank Del Campo, 44, who works on Manhattan's Upper West Side, went from soldier to singer to antique dealer before becoming a full-time artist. Philadelphia's Ray King, 27, until recently had to make ends meet by restoring old stained-glass windows; now he is one of the few artists in the medium who can earn a living making his own experimental pieces. Benida Solow, 30, whose lustrous *Innerscape*, a freestanding screen, was included in the Los Angeles

show, has been represented at five other California exhibitions in the past two years.

Says San Francisco artist Peter Mollica, 36: "The reason it's happening for serious artists is because it's happened on the hobbyist level. I think you have to thank the amateur. A lot of people who are serious now about stained glass started out as amateurs."

More than a thousand courses in stained glass are now available in public schools, museums, Y.M.C.A.s, art centers, colleges and private studios throughout the U.S. After Artist Don Davidson started teaching stained-glass works as a pilot project for 25 fifth- and sixth-graders at Houston's Luther Burbank elementary school, parents clamored successfully for their own afterschool classes. Louisiana State University is offering a full-time course in the medium for undergraduates. At North Adams, Mass., an institute sponsored by the Hoosick Corporation, a nonprofit organization that promotes design-oriented manufacturing businesses, has just completed a two-week, \$330 class in rudimentary technique; it was sold out. Another course in April will teach painting on glass; in June under Albinas Elskus, there will be a course in design. At the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence, four-year students can take a major in stained glass. Later this year a special class will be taught there by West Germany's Ludwig Schaffrath, 54, a master of design who is regarded as the greatest single influence on Americans working in the medium.

Artist Otto B. Rigan notes in his book *New Glass* (Ballantine, \$7.95): "The pioneering, limit-shattering art of the new



Benida Solow's *Innerscape*, 1977

glass springs up at a time when the American middle class has more leisure, is better educated and more diversified in interests than ever before, and when the search for expansive ideals and lifestyles is at an all-time high."

The craft's appeal to the tyro lies partly in the fact that it need not be expensive. Basic equipment, in addition to the glass, can be bought for less than \$50. It includes a glass cutter, a breaker (for splitting the glass), a grozier (to grind off errors), copper foil or lead (to hold the pieces together), a lathekin (a wooden tool) to flatten the foil on the glass, a soldering iron, a lubricant (usually kerosene) to make the cutter run smoothly on the glass, a flux solution to make the solder adhere to the foil (or lead). New techniques, such as sandblasting, silk-screen painting, laminating and the use of epoxy resins, enable artists to achieve subtle tactile and visual effects. Even so, stained glass demands infinite patience; a single lamp shade may be composed of 2,400 meticulously assembled pieces.

Most beginners putter with machine-made glass, which costs from \$2 to \$5 per sq. ft. and comes in some 300 hues. Once hooked, the hobbyist will gravitate to blown glass (up to \$20 per sq. ft.), which has a special mystique: each sheet is unique, with bubbles, streaks, ripples, tints, curves and a translucency that seems to give it a life of its own. This so-called "antique" glass, obtainable in some 3,000 colors and shadings, is imported almost exclusively from European makers, who cannot produce enough to feed the American market.

The demand for finished works has secularized most professional studios. Chicago's Giannini & Hilgart, the Midwest's oldest stained-glass studio (founded in 1868), struggled along for years on sparse church commissions until the boom hit in 1973; its business then started tripling annually, to \$170,000 in 1977, and 90% of its output now goes to homes and businesses. Dealers specializing in supplies for the craft have also been transported on a beam of dancing light (green). Hollander Glass company in Long Beach, Calif., which started in 1956 as a small studio specializing in windows for churches and residences, is now solely in the business of selling the glass—\$4 million worth in 1977.

Glass art may in the past have been stifled by its traditions: Gothic, Renaissance, Victorian, art nouveau, Tiffany, art deco. Today artists and artisans, students and professionals are creating a distinctively American form, moving away from mere decoration and drawing eclectically from the other visual arts. As Artistic Editor Fred Abrams writes in *Glass* magazine, a journal for artists and craftsmen: "Glass is the most beautiful and magical art medium in the world, . . . and we have only begun to explore its possibilities and potential." To which its admirers and practitioners can only add amen, translucent tomorrows and "gret joye." ■

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## Cinema



George C. Scott in *Crossed Swords*

### Last Picture Show

CROSSED SWORDS

Directed by Richard Fleischer

Screenplay by George

MacDonald Fraser

Although there is nothing particularly memorable about this film, its title is sure to be a mainstay of trivia contests for years to come. *Crossed Swords*, as nasty fate would have it, is the last movie scheduled to play Manhattan's doomed Radio City Music Hall. The choice could not be more appropriate, for *Crossed Swords* is the quintessential Music Hall film: an un-demanding, all-star family entertainment with period sets and costumes bathed in ersatz gold. It's perfect wallpaper for an art deco palace.

As such movies go, *Crossed Swords* is somewhat above the norm. Adapted from Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper*, it recounts a highly satisfying story in an amiable fashion. Though Screenwriter George MacDonald Fraser has replaced many of the novel's jokes with vaguely risqué punch lines of his own, he has preserved the book's theme. By the time Prince Edward and London Slum Boy Tom Canty reclaim their rightful identities at the movie's end, the audience has been stirred by Twain's passionate devotion to democratic ideals.

*Crossed Swords* would be more amusing, no doubt, had it been directed by

## OUR PINPOINT CARBONATION ADDS BRILLIANCE.

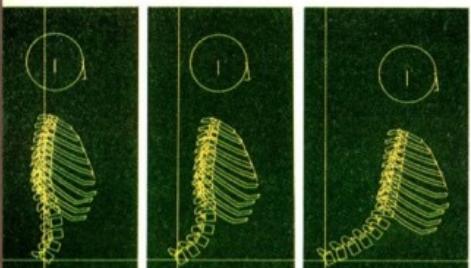
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# IBM Reports: Helping put

Information is one of today's most important resources.

Here are some ways IBM products help put it to use more productively for the benefit of everyone.



## Simulation helps study of back problems

Though millions of Americans suffer from back problems, the complex structure of the spine has been difficult to study. Now, however, using a mathematical model of the spine developed on an IBM computer at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois, engineers are providing orthopedists with valuable information about the mechanics of the human backbone. The illustrations at the left, for example, derived from computer information, show what may happen to the spine a split second after the crash of a car driving 30 miles per hour. The model simulates and predicts the results of alternative braces and therapies, helping physicians determine the most effective treatment. It also serves scientists and industrial safety engineers searching for ways to prevent, as well as treat, back injuries and diseases.

## On-board computers to guide space shuttle

Early in the 1980s, when all flight tests are completed, NASA will send America's first reusable spacecraft, the Space Shuttle, into orbit. Five IBM computers on board will support the Shuttle in its mission. They will collect flight performance data from hundreds of sensors, instantly analyze it, and then display the information on screens to the pilots and crew—all the information they will need to navigate and control the craft from launch to reentry and landing. While in orbit, the Shuttle will collect information designed to improve weather forecasts, locate new sources of oil and natural gas, provide land studies that can help increase crop yields, and track water and air pollution.



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IBM.

## Life-sustaining efficiency at a Red Cross blood bank

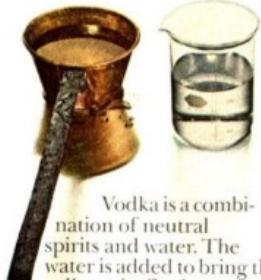
When a doctor orders a blood transfusion, instant information about the availability of the type of blood needed can be a matter of life or death. In Los Angeles, the Red Cross uses a small IBM computer and four IBM Blood Cell Processors to supply information—and blood—to more than 220 hospitals.

The computer maintains current data on 1,500 pints of rare, frozen blood by type, quantity and location, and on donors who may be contacted if a certain type of blood becomes scarce. When red blood cells are needed, frozen cells are thawed, then cleansed of preservative and certain impurities by the Blood Cell Processors. This rapid "washing" technique substantially reduces the likelihood of allergic and other adverse patient transfusion reactions.



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## Cinema

Richard Lester, who collaborated with Fraser on *The Three Musketeers*. The chore has fallen instead to Richard Fleischer, who possibly took on this benign project as penance for giving the world *Mandingo*. Fleischer has staged the film's many chase scenes and sword fights in his characteristically witless manner, but at least he keeps the narrative rolling noisily along. He also makes the most of his mishmash of a cast. Rex Harrison (as the Duke of Norfolk) and Oliver Reed (as Miles Hendon) are endearing good guys; George C. Scott's dry impersonation of a vagabond king is the best thing in the film. Even the wretched performances—Mark Lester's prissy portrayal of the title roles aside—are fun in their bizarre way. Ernest Borgnine yells out his lines in an unabashed American accent and bulges his eyes in every closeup, proving once again that he is the last word in screen vulgarity. His crass pyrotechnics are almost topped by Charlton Heston, who turns Henry VIII's death scene into a veritable anthology of hammy acting gestures. Raquel Welch, no fool, sees to it that she is more seen than heard.

Still, the various ups and downs of *Crossed Swords* are not important; the real issue raised by the film is why it was made at all. There just isn't much of a market for a movie like this in the U.S. any more: family films are too slow for adults and too tame for children raised on ABC sitcoms and *Star Wars*. By making a fetish of booking such movies, Radio City Music Hall has in effect willed its own death.

—Frank Rich

## Fast Food

A HERO AIN'T NOTHIN'  
BUT A SANDWICH

Directed by Ralph Nelson  
Screenplay by Alice Childress

**B**enjie (Larry Scott) is a black kid, 13 years old, living in Watts, showing talent in school and resentment at home. The problem is that his father has run off and his mother (Cicely Tyson) is living with a man (Paul Winfield) whose presence is upsetting to the boy. Up to a point, this is to be expected. What is harder to understand is why this stepfather figure so powerfully distresses the child, since, despite the man's lack of legal status in the household, he is a paragon—hard working, loving, ever eager to reach out to the boy.

After a time we begin to suspect that the situation exists merely as a dramatic convenience, to give Benjie some reason to turn to drugs, and then go through a rehabilitation process that comes replete with many melodramatic setbacks. In the end, we are left not really caring about the near tragedies we have witnessed, the near triumphs we are asked to share.

The reason for the film's lack of effect lies in a combination of ineptitude

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# "Ætna, heal thyself."

In recent months, Ætna has been blunt in criticizing some expensive flaws in America's health care system.

Our bluntness has brought us, in return, equally blunt criticism of ourselves:

A hospital administrator from Illinois says that Ætna's *own*

insurance plans have encouraged overuse of hospitals—since we pay for some procedures only when the insured person is hospitalized, even though out-patient treatment might cost less. (He's right. Some plans do this. We need to work harder to change them.)

Several doctors asked how we could claim to "give consumers a stake in holding down costs" when we're still selling health insurance that has little or no deductible.<sup>2</sup>

Another physician says that skyrocketing malpractice insurance premiums have forced him to increase the charges to his patients.<sup>3</sup>

Another accuses Aetna of "scapegoatism" and "kicking the dog," and a hospital representative contends "you attack us."<sup>4</sup>

To these last charges we plead "not guilty." Our criticism is aimed at the *health care system* and not at doctors or hospitals—although all participants (including Aetna) must share some responsibility. Most worthwhile changes in society bring with them strong disagreements and public debate. Slowing the runaway costs of this system needs open discussion now. Aetna will keep focusing on the flaws we see. And we'll keep welcoming—and responding to—the views of those who disagree with us most strongly.

## Aetna wants insurance to be affordable.

In the last few years we've intensified our efforts to correct this imbalance: Aetna health insurance plans are covering more and more kinds of out-patient care. Examples: Post-hospital convalescent facilities (since 1969); free-standing ambulatory surgical centers (since 1973); pre-admission testing (experimentally since 1970—now being extended nationally); and post-hospital home health care already available in many plans.

This is also true. Although Aetna has been stressing the value of deductibles and co-insurance since the mid-1950's, the physicians' criticism is fair: we are still writing insurance plans that have no deductibles for hospital charges. The pressure to "give the customer what he wants" is a constant in business. Aetna, like most insurers, has given in to it too many times when it may not have been in society's long-term interest.

An increase, starting in the early 1970's, in the number and size of liability suits caught insurers by surprise, and drastically forced up premiums to cover legal costs, court awards and out-of-court settlements. Part of the solution, Aetna believes, is to reform an increasingly distorted tort law system. This is a subject as controversial and important as the health care system itself.

In response to our earlier advertisements, several doctors

wrote along these lines: "Aetna, being a large company, can afford to take pages in national magazines and push its opinions; I, as a private practitioner of medicine, obviously cannot." This advertisement is a recognition of that point of view. But we don't think that any of us involved in the health care system can afford to overlook our own contribution to the problem. Each of us should give some criticism, take some—and act on it.



Don't think of California Brandy strictly as an after-dinner drink.

Think of it rather as the change of pace that you can enjoy anytime. Like fine scotch, California Brandy is remarkably smooth. Yet because it comes from rich California grapes, brandy offers a taste all its own.

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California Brandy. Anytime and anywhere, you'll like the change.

# Time change.



**California Brandy**  
**You'll like the change.**

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## Cinema



Larry Scott as Benjie in *Hero*

Near tragedies and near triumphs.

and high-mindedness. The actors cannot be blamed; they struggle hard, and with occasional success, to humanize a story that is schematically structured like a case history. Ralph Nelson's direction does not help; it is routine, though it is hard to know what could be done with a script that keeps freezing up in order to deliver tiresome sociological sermons.

The hope of movies like this is that they can provide serious family entertainment, food for thought to throw on the dinner table along with the broccoli. But the fact is that the people who make them are, at best, specialists in convenience foods, stuff that leaves you hungry even as you push away from the table. *A Hero ain't nothin' but carbohydrates.*

—Richard Schickel

## Twilight Zone

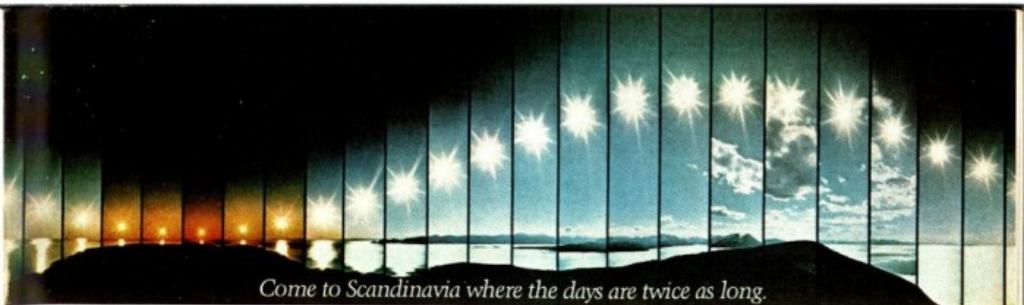
BEYOND AND BACK

*Directed by James L. Conway*

*Screenplay by Stephen Lord*

This semidocumentary is an attempt to dramatize case histories of people who have somehow revived after having been pronounced dead. The film stresses the similarity of their experiences in the twilight zone: a sense of hovering above their beds, a trip through a prettily lighted tunnel toward a bright glow, pearly gates (or something quite like them symbolically), the whole accompanied by warm, sensual feelings. Many, of course, catch a glimpse of God along the way, and they all make The End sound infinitely preferable to a case of the Russian flu. But the film is so simple-mindedly earnest in tone and repetitive that it robs intrinsically fascinating material of all drama and mystery. Technically, the picture is so inept that it is impossible to tell when one of its subjects is alive and when he or she has crossed over; they all look like products of the undertaker's rather than the moviemaker's art.

—R.S.



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In Scandinavia, in the summer, the sun stays up an average of 18 hours a day.

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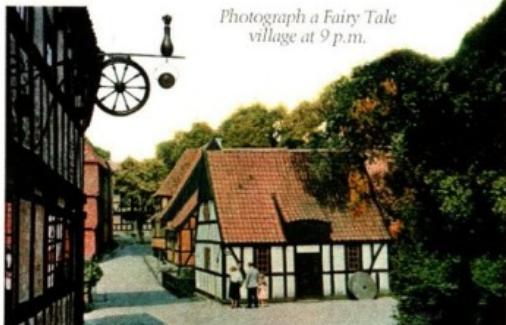
Visit Copenhagen, a city whose people love to laugh and play so much they put



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*Photograph a Fairy Tale village at 9 p.m.*

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with the cities.**

**We're falling in love  
with the people.**

**We're falling  
in love again  
with Germany."**

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# Religion

## Ousting the "Pope of Africa"

Flamboyant Burgess Carr is stripped of his ecumenical post

In nearly seven years as general secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, the flamboyant Canon Burgess Carr often seemed more interested in politics than religion. The 42-year-old Anglican spoke often of liberation and less often of salvation, and declared: "We have had a British Jesus on our backs too long." Now the conference, which claims a constituency of 68 million non-Catholics, has reluctantly concluded that it has had the burly Carr on its back too long.

The Carr era ended at a tense emergency meeting in Lomé, the sweltering capital of Togo. Though the All Africa Conference's board issued statements defending Carr, key churchmen finally concluded that he had brought the young ecumenical organization to the brink of disaster. The board put Carr on leave until May 1979, when his term officially expires. This week Carr becomes a research fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs, and in the next academic year a visiting lecturer at Harvard Divinity School. His interim replacement: Egyptian Coptic Layman Sarwan G. Shehata, 39, a quiet management expert, who is already at work mending the many fences that Carr shattered.

Most African Christians defended Carr's style of political Christianity, including his support of black guerrillas in Rhodesia and South Africa. But many were afraid that he had made the organization too secular. The conference could "speak with eloquence on political issues, but had no spiritual message," says one church analyst. Nor was Carr above using the most sacred themes for political ends. Defending the guerrillas, he told the last All Africa Assembly, in 1974: "In accepting the violence of the cross, God, in Jesus Christ, sacrificed violence into a redemptive instrument." Such comments helped dry up vital funding from church agencies in Western Europe.

To his credit, Carr did not attack just the West. He also denounced Africa's own murderous dictators, self-seeking businessmen and corrupt politicians. This caused trouble in Kenya, where the All Africa Conference is based. Attorney General Charles Njonjo turned against Carr, branding him a meddler. Even though a palatial \$2 million headquarters on government-donated land is due to open in Nairobi next October, Carr tried to pull the organization out of the country.

Carr's conduct got him into as much trouble as his outspokenness. His high-handed handling of his staff produced a ceaseless round of firings and resignations. He acted like the ecumenical Pope



Carr laying cornerstone for headquarters  
Eloquent to some, highhanded to others.

of Africa, and grass-roots Christians complained that he paid scant attention to their opinions. Many took offense at the 1974 assembly's proclamation of a missionary-go-home policy (since downplayed) and its declaration of war against "theological conservatism."

There was an uglier factor. In 1976 complaints of sexual indiscretions by an unnamed "Christian leader" reached the floor of Kenya's Parliament. When Carr and the All Africa Conference board complained at the Lomé meeting that he had been the victim of a smear campaign, the official Voice of Kenya radio accused Carr by name.

A Liberian, Carr first came onto the ecumenical scene in 1967, when he cut short his doctoral studies at Harvard to join the Africa desk of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. He was assigned to handle relief for Nigeria and to try to mediate its bloody civil war. In 1972, the year after Carr took charge of the All Africa Conference, he ably mod-

erated the negotiations that ended the Sudan's 17-year civil war.

That was his single greatest accomplishment, but Carr had a more general impact. "He put the All Africa Conference on the world map," says Presbyterian Leader John Gatu, a Kenyan who is chairman of its General Committee. In Geneva, Philip Potter, head of the World Council of Churches, praised Carr's "deep Christian commitment, his boundless energy and his remarkable political sensitivity." To workaday Africans, he was above all an eloquent freedom fighter. Said an admiring Kikuyu carpenter in Nairobi: "He roared like a jumbo jet, and his words were like bullets."

## Gutenberg Sale

A steal at \$999,999

John Gutenberg had to go into debt to finish the first Bible ever printed, a two-volume edition. Plagued by lawsuits and lack of cash, he struggled for two years fashioning each character and symbol by hand—46,000 pieces in all. When it was completed in 1454, the 150-copy paper edition fetched about 20 guilders (roughly \$1,000) apiece; the 35 parchment copies were a little more. Now three of the 48 complete or partial Gutenberg Bibles still known to exist are on the market in New York City. The asking price has been as high as \$2.5 million, which is what Rare-Book Dealer Hans P. Kraus tried, unsuccessfully, to get for the Bible he acquired in 1970. But the price for the copies being put up for sale by the General Theological Seminary and the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library is considerably less. There is some doubt that the seminary's copy, which will be auctioned at Christie's next month, will even fetch \$1 million.

Whether all the Gutenberg will find buyers is another matter. Like great master paintings they are thought to be a splendid investment, but usually only a very few institutions or individuals can afford one. "What can you do with the damn thing?" asked one irreverent book dealer. "These days the Arabs could buy it, but it would be easier to sell them a 10th century Koran than a 15th century Bible."

Curious New York readers who do not happen to have a million dollars can look at a Gutenberg for the price of a subway fare. The Pierpont Morgan Library has two complete copies, with one always on view. The New York Public Library also has one. In fact, of the 14 Gutenbergs in the U.S., nearly all can be seen in libraries. Each volume is about 16 in. high, 24 in. across when opened, and contains either 648 or 634 pages. Americans, who by and large have given up the study of Latin, may be put off by the fact that all copies begin, "*In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram.*" ■

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## Sears Cross-buck Style Storm-Screen Door. Save \$15.00. Now \$54.99

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Sears Best. Three times more impact resistant than the plastic material of the best-selling bags.

## Sale starts March 2 at most Sears retail stores

Prices and dates may vary in Alaska and Hawaii.

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Each of these advertised items is readily available for sale as advertised.

# Science

## Peril from Superplastics?

*Microscopic carbon fibers pose a threat*

The new super lightweight, super strong materials are here. Made of plastics reinforced by extremely thin strands of carbon, they are already being used in everything from aircraft parts to golf clubs and tennis racquets. Industry planners also have their eyes on hundreds of other products that could benefit from the versatile materials. But now warning flags have been raised about a troublesome effect of the fibers in the superplastics. Federal officials are so concerned that they have quietly ordered a high-level interagency study to decide how to reduce the potential hazard.

Because the new composite materials can be formed into almost any shape, are extremely strong and durable, and weigh far less than metals of comparable strength, a ready market was available when they first appeared in the 1960s. The aircraft industry began using new composites for helicopter blades, turbojet fans and many other components—first plastics containing boron fibers. Then manufacturers began turning to fibers made of carbon or graphite (another form of carbon), which were less expensive and more versatile than the boron variety.

Almost immediately the first sign of trouble appeared. When the fine, nearly microscopic carbon fibers escape into the air—either during their manufacture or when the composite material is purposely or accidentally incinerated—they can settle on electrical equipment with disastrous results: carbon fibers are good conductors



**Model hefts a carbon-fiber truck spring**  
*Lightweight, strong and almost any shape*

of electricity and thus can cause short circuits, arcing and sometimes fire. According to a recent NASA study, there have been more than a dozen such incidents since 1970 in industrial plants producing or using the fibers. As use of the composites increases, careless disposal and burning of wastes could release enough

fibers into the air to short out air conditioners, TV sets, radios and even large power generating systems.

Such mischievous effects have not escaped the attention of military authorities who in classified studies have noted that a cloud of carbon fibers could be used, for instance, to incapacitate electrical equipment over wide areas—as well as knock out enemy radar. Because some 350 tons of carbon fibers are now produced annually in the U.S. and abroad, the Carter Administration ordered that much of the NASA study be made public. It also directed several agencies under the auspices of the Department of Commerce to look into the matter further.

There is every reason for a thorough inquiry. U.S. automakers, especially Ford, are stepping up their investigation of these materials as an alternative to steel in a new generation of lighter cars that will burn less fuel. Ford President Lee Iacocca says that the composites will cut by 600 kg. (1,300 lbs.) the weight of a prototype car planned for 1979.

What worries scientists is that, in the future, burning of waste materials by manufacturers, fires caused by aircraft and auto accidents, and incineration of discarded products could sharply increase the amount of carbon fibers in the atmosphere, threatening electrical equipment.

Government officials have no plans to ban the extremely valuable material. But they, as well as industry scientists, are looking for safe ways to handle, shield and dispose of the composites. Says a Government spokesman: "Properly handled, these materials can be very useful. We want to make sure, however, that their use is fully understood." ■

## Milestones

**MARRIED.** Joseph Alioto, 62, multimillionaire businessman and former mayor of San Francisco; and Kathleen Sullivan, 33, moderate voice as president of Boston's school committee who is expected to run for mayor in 1979; he for the second time, she for the first: in Manhattan. Alioto divorced Angelina, his wife of 35 years, last August.

**DIED.** Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, 53, black South African leader whose determined advocacy of black rights kept him in prison or under government restriction for the past 18 years; of lung cancer; in Kimberley, South Africa. A follower of Mahatma Gandhi and a believer in nonviolent civil disobedience, Sobukwe founded the Pan-African Congress as a splinter group from the African National Congress in 1959. Following his participation in 1960 demonstrations against the restrictive pass laws that control the lives of South African blacks, Sobukwe was sentenced to

three years in jail for "incitement to riot." When his term ended, Parliament passed a law empowering the government to keep political prisoners in custody indefinitely, and Sobukwe spent the next six years in another prison, using the time to earn an economics degree. Finally released in 1969, he was restricted to a small black township in Kimberley. He was denied permission to emigrate, but three of his four children moved to the U.S. to live with their father's friend, U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young.

**DIED.** Paul Scott, 57, British novelist best known for *The Raj Quartet*, a brooding, four-volume portrait of the decline and fall of British rule in India; of cancer; in London. After an abortive career as an accountant and literary agent, Scott began to write poetry and fiction based on his experiences as a soldier in India during World War II. His interlocking 2,000-page masterpiece is a blending of private

and public histories that evokes a doomed world of racism and heroics.

**DIED.** Edward Griffith Begle, 63, mathematics professor at Yale and Stanford who was a chief proponent of the "new math"; of emphysema; in Palo Alto, Calif. As head of the School Mathematics Study Group, an organization with nearly \$10 million in Government grants, Begle emphasized the theoretical principles of the number system in addition to rote calculation learned in traditional math.

**DIED.** Wesley Bolin, 68, a first-term Arizona Governor who had served as secretary of state for 29 years; of a heart attack; in Phoenix. A conservative Democrat, Bolin established a bipartisan administration by appointing Republicans to office. He will be replaced by state Attorney General Bruce Babbitt, who has mounted a tough law-enforcement campaign against Arizona gangsters.

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## NIKON FM



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## Books

### The Demon and the Muse

THE STRANGE RIDE OF RUDYARD KIPLING  
by Angus Wilson; Viking; 370 pages; \$17.50

*The sand of the desert is sodden red.—  
Red with the wreck of a square that broke.—  
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,  
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.  
The river of death has brimmed his banks.  
And England's far, and Honour a name.  
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:  
'Play up! Play up! and play the game!'*

Only one man could have written those bally lines, and it wasn't John Wayne. Rudyard Kipling, the laureate of British imperialism, of the white man's burden, and the stiff upper libido now seems a literary fossil. His world began to wobble after 1918 and the war that took the life of his son. The colonial India where he was born in 1865 lives on in Monty Python skits. In America, Kipling's credit lines followed those of Cary Grant and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. in *Gunga Din*, Errol Flynn and Dean Stockwell in *Kim*. Sean Connery and Michael Caine in *The Man Who Would Be King* and, of course, Sabu, star of Hollywood's *The Jungle Book*.

Yet critics and children never seem to get enough of Kipling. Psychologists are forever picking at the locks of his complex personality, while kids pass effortlessly through to enter the artist's realm of enchantment and adventure. British Novelist and Critic Angus Wilson is the

latest in a long literary line to attempt to penetrate the inner Kipling. As Wilson puts it, he seeks "the inter-relationship of the real world and the imagined in his art." The problem is that Kipling's perceptions of the world were often confused and inconsistent; his art was not. Thus he could praise advances that England brought to India, and just as quickly decry anything that altered authentic Indian culture. He especially disliked Western-educated Indians who adopted British manners.

Perhaps they reminded the author of his own emotional and cultural wrenchings. Wilson seems to think so. He writes that "even when they appear most impersonal, his political and imperial concepts spring from his own agonising sense of personal isolation." When *Baa, Baa, Black Sheep* first appeared in 1888, readers were not aware that this story of a boy separated from his parents was largely autobiographical. Until he was nearly six, Kipling lived in India, where his father taught art and eventually became curator of a museum at Lahore. Even on a teacher's low pay the family lived in comfort and privilege. For Rudyard, there were servants to tell him exotic tales and treat him like a little prince.

But in 1871 Kipling and his three-year-old sister went to England to board with Southsea family. It was not uncommon for parents in colonial service to send their children home for reasons of education and health. Less usual was the manner of the young Kiplings' exile.



Kipling with "is girl" Britannia

*Imperialism and the stiff upper libido.*

To avoid tears the parents tucked the children into a strange bed without a word of explanation and disappeared back to India. Their mother returned six years later to find a daughter who didn't know her, and a son seething with anger. He had been torn from an idyllic world and plunged into the suffocating sphere of middle-class Victorian rectitude. His surrogate mother despised him for his precocity, and her older son was a bully. In addition, Rudyard's severe near-sightedness had gone undetected.

Kipling later wrote that this bleak period was a good preparation for his future as a writer: "It demanded constant wariness, the habit of observation, and attendance on moods and tempers; the noting of discrepancies between speech and action; a certain reserve of demeanour; an automatic suspicion of sudden favours." This partly explains Kipling's impregnable defense of his private life in later years. In an age when popular writers had international superstar status, he and his American wife kept their distance. Kipling was enthusiastic about London's music halls but found its literary salons airless and provincial. Likewise, he appreciated America's irreverent Western humorists but not its Eastern life of letters. His comments about the New York publishing scene have not dated: "They have an intensely literary society there—same old names cropping up week after week at the same old parties, same old gags, same old dishwater as it might be in any city we could name—allowing for local colour and the necessity of creating the Great American Literature." He was



Lord and Lady Curzon observe procession of Indian guests at turn-of-the-century celebration  
*Beyond the complex personality into the artist's realm of enchantment and adventure.*

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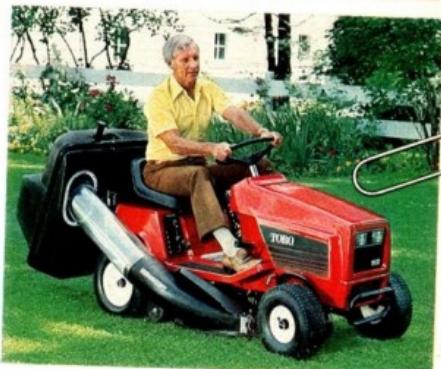
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## Books

far more comfortable living apart from those who heaped praise and riches on him—and who might disappear with their attentions as capriciously as his mother had. He was a restless and frequent traveler. His homes included Brattleboro, Vt., where he wrote all of the *Mowgli* stories, the English countryside in Sussex, and Cape Town, South Africa. Yet he was hardly reticent. As a correspondent during the Boer War he lavished pride and affection on the average British soldier and championed the rights of returning veterans. As a Tory, he wrote political verse



Rudyard Kipling in Vermont study (1892)

"England's far, and Honour a name."

like the poem that foretold a time when a new source of energy would be found to replace England from the tyranny of the coal miners' union.

Throughout this critical biography, Wilson examines the texts of Kipling's work for "deep contradiction between the political theories he formulated and the nature of his romantic artistic powers." He looks to Kipling's puritanical Methodist forebears and the sobering effects of Darwinism for insights into the author's character. He even suggests that Kipling suffered from a fear of self-knowledge.

There is some truth in Wilson's points, but it is critic's qualified truth. Why there should be a contradiction between political views and romanticism is never made clear. Surely Kipling's early psychological jolts were as important as the heritage of John Wesley and Charles Darwin. As to Kipling's lack of self-awareness, it might be noted that he saw himself as an old-fashioned craftsman, not a 20th century confessional artist. Certainly he understood the magical relationship between his demon and his muse. Which is why there are many critics of Kipling, but only one Kipling.

R.Z. Sheppard

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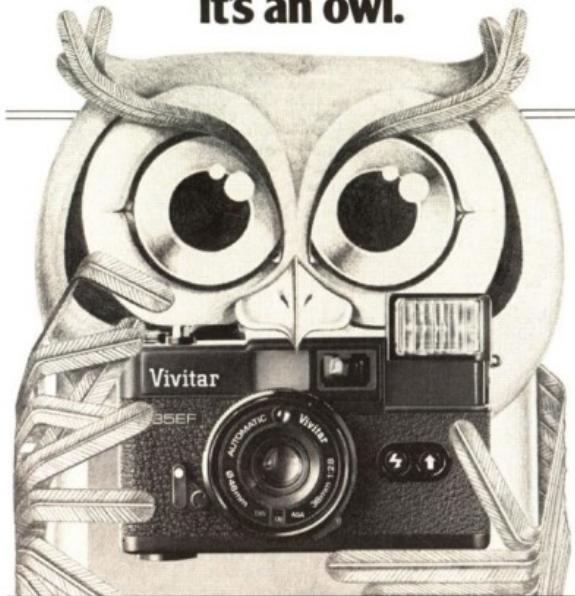
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## Books

### Puppy Love

THE PLAGUE DOGS

by Richard Adams

Knopf, 390 pages; \$10.95

Like his enormously successful *Water-ship Down* and *Shardik*, Richard Adams' third novel relies heavily on animal magnetism. This time out, two plucky dogs named Rowf and Snitter escape from an experimental station in the English Lake District, where they have been treated bestially by doctors. Freedom means surviving in the inhospitable countryside and dodging much of the British population, which incorrectly believes the animals have been inoculated with plague. On their journey the beleaguered canines are aided by a roguish fox. It is hard to say anything critical about such a heartwarming story.

But not impossible. Even Adams' fervent admirers admit that he can be spoty: at best an artful cataloguer of flora and fauna, at worst a windy sentimental. Memorable passages occur only when his imagination roosts among furry creatures or in the mid-regions of myth. Give him anything more difficult to chew on than a bone, and things fall apart. The story of Rowf and Snitter is glutted with just such indigestibles.

For the first time Adams introduces contemporary humans into his fiction. In a preface he distinguishes the ones who are "pleasant" from those who are "un-



**Plagued Canines Rowf and Snitter**

*Information from a twitching nose or ear.* pleasant." This criterion is useful when planning a dinner party but not quite up to the demands of a lengthy novel.

Hard as he is on unpleasant people, Adams lays a heavier hand on things and ideas he does not like. The center that Rowf and Snitter escape from is called Animal Research, Surgical and Experimental (A.R.S.E.). Its acronym hits the level on which every endeavor that does not involve padding about on four feet is treated. The behavior of politicians, sci-



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## Books

entists and journalists invariably rouses Adams into the kind of jocular sneering that is more fun to write than to read: "Under fire, Hot Bottle Bill had stood his ground like a good 'un, manfully ensuring that the Parliamentary attacks were invariably answered by one of his junior colleagues. Mr. Basil Forbes (otherwise known as Errol the Peril, on account of his unpredictable imprudence.)"

None of this will matter to the legions of Adams' true believers. They have forgiven him much before and no doubt will forgive him again. The surprising thing is that skeptics who do not want to travel somewhere east of Disney and who cringe at every gaffe and infelicity in *The Plague Dogs* may also be caught in the chase.

True, Adams overwrites almost every scene, but he manages to turn that fault into a virtue. Length can lull disbelief and make the unlikely seem familiar. Snitter, for instance, has been the victim of mind-control experiments and consequently hallucinates a fair amount of gibberish: "There's a mouse—a mouse that sings—I'm bitten to the brains and it never stops raining—not in this eye anyway." The effect of a terrier doing his impression of the fool in *King Lear* is at first disconcerting. It grows less so with each appearance, and those who stay for the whole show will find Snitter a thoroughly credible talking dog. The transformation is not exactly magical but, given enough patience, it works.

At bedrock, so does Adams' tale. His understanding of the instinctive comes through when it is most needed. His creatures come alive because Adams knows how to convey what they fear and feel, what information can be picked up by a twitching nose. Because they speak, the dogs are anthropomorphic; but they somehow speak like dogs. As with most experiences in the wild, much of this novel is irritating and unpleasant. When conditions are right, though, it is worth the expedition.

—Paul Gray

## G.I. Wounded

WHISTLE

by James Jones  
Delacorte; 457 pages; \$10.95

When James Jones died last year he was trying desperately to finish *Whistle*, his final installment of a trilogy begun with *From Here to Eternity* and extended through *The Thin Red Line*. Whistle, Jones wrote, would "say just about everything I have ever had to say, or will ever have to say, on the human condition of war and what it means to us, as against what we claim it means to us." Measured against that aspiration, the book proves that Jones either had nothing more to say about war's meaning or else was silenced before his mission could be completed.

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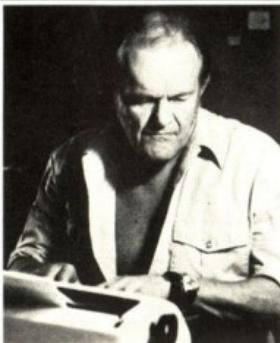
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## Books



James Jones working in Miami (1975)

A long, sad way for the noncom's Homer.

the common male interest. C--- had broken the centripetal intensity of the hermetic force which sealed them together in so incestuous a way. Their combat. C vs combat ... Landers decided he had discovered quite by accident the basic pre-existing equation of the universe."

What that cosmic arithmetic might add up to is as unanswerable as the question of what *Whistle* might have become if Jones had lived on. It is certainly less than the "finished work" it is labeled by Jones' friend, Writer Willie Morris (*North Toward Home*), who assembled the manuscript. It is easy to pass over Morris' soft appraisal. What is less forgivable, even granted the spirit of eulogy, is the publisher's decision to proclaim *Whistle* the author's "masterpiece." This devaluation of Jones' best work may have been meant as a bugle salute to the departed soldier. It seems, instead, a tin horn blast for customers.

—Frank Trippett

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** Daniel Martin, *John Fowles*  
The Honourable Schoolboy, *John le Carré* • The Human Factor, *Graham Greene* • Song of Solomon, *Toni Morrison* • Transatlantic Blues, *Wilfrid Sheed*

**NONFICTION:** Coming into the Country, *John McPhee* • Dispatches, *Michael Herr* • Dulles, *Leonard Mosley* • The Last Cowboy, *Jane Kramer* • Letters to Friends, Family and Editors, *Franz Kafka*

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

1. Bloodline, *Sheldon* (3 last week)
2. The Thorn Birds, *McCullough* (1)
3. The Silmarillion, *Tolkien* (2)
4. The Honourable Schoolboy, *Le Carré* (4)
5. The Black Marble, *Wambaugh* (5)
6. The Women's Room, *French* (8)
7. Dreams Die First, *Robbins* (6)
8. The Immigrants, *Fast* (9)
9. Illusions, *Bach* (7)
10. Rachel, The Rabbi's Wife, *Tennenbaum*

### NONFICTION

1. The Complete Book of Running, *Fixx* (1)
2. The Amityville Horror, *Anson* (4)
3. All Things Wise and Wonderful, *Herritor* (2)
4. The Second Ring of Power, *Casaneda* (3)
5. Gnomes, *Hygen* & *Poorvlier*
6. Looking Out for #1, *Ringer* (7)
7. Coming into the Country, *McPhee* (6)
8. My Mother / My Self, *Friday* (5)
9. Dispatches, *Herr*
10. The Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady, *Holden*

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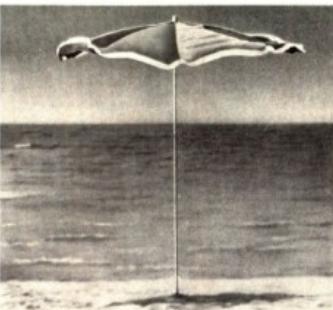


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# Music

## Tales from the Neon Netherworld

Warren Zevon sings of spies, ghosts and lost lovers

A few years back, just before his career heated up and Warren Zevon started turning out some of the spookiest, saddest and most startling songs in pop music, he was jamming at a friend's house and wondering why no one would let him play lead guitar.

"Well," teased his pal, Bassist LeRoy Marinelli, "you get good ideas. But then you get too excited."

"Yeah," said Warren Zevon. "I'm an excitable boy."

He kept that exchange in mind. *Excitable Boy* is the title of Zevon's new record, his second in as many years. It continues further along into the neon netherworld explored in his first major album. Zevon sings songs of madness and delight, all about spies and mercenaries, traitors and lost lovers, spooks, werewolves and other halfway creatures of the night. Quite characteristically, his "excitable boy" shows up in the title cut (co-written with Marinelli) transformed into a ragging madman, whose exploits are chronicled with sardonic relish.

*Well, he went down to dinner  
in his Sunday best  
Excitable boy, they all said  
And he rubbed the pot roast  
all over his chest  
Excitable boy, they all said*

This wrought-up lad moves on to higher, wider-ranging transgressions—from biting an usherette on the leg to raping and killing “little Suzie,” his date at the junior prom. Yet each exploit is explained and excused by the same hard-rocking ironic chorus: “Well, he’s just an excitable boy.”

Zevon is about equal parts berzerk satirist and strung-out romantic. He can write desolating love songs with racked refrains like, “We made mad love/Shadow love/Random love/ And abandoned love/Accidentally like a martyr/ The hurt gets worse and the heart gets harder.” Perhaps most conspicuously, he is a superb storyteller, running true to the tough, hard-eyed tradition that embraces both writers like Raymond Chandler and film makers like Sam Peckinpah. One of the most commanding, demanding of *Excitable Boy*’s nine songs is *Roland the Headless Thompson Gunner*, a harsh, haunted, hard-as-bedrock chronicle of a Norwegian mercenary soldier whose head is blown off by a turncoat CIA operative named Van Owen. Roland’s ghost hunts

Van Owen to a Mombasa barroom, blasts his body “from there to Johannesburg,” then goes “wandering through the night.”

*Now it's ten years later but he still  
keeps up the fight  
In Ireland, in Lebanon, in  
Palestine and Berkeley  
Patty Hearst heard the burst of  
Roland's Thompson gun  
And bought it*

JAMES EASTWOOD / DAVID ALEXANDER STUDIO



**Zevon in front of his concert grand at home in Los Angeles**  
*The hurt gets worse and the heart gets harder.*

Lyrics like that, tied to strong melodies that can be either stringently lush or stinkingly harsh—real whiplash rock ‘n’ roll—make Zevon wonderfully weird and wholly unique.

**A**s any musician is careful to keep his instrument in tune, Warren Zevon takes some pain to live sufficiently close to danger and desperation so as not to lose his cutting edge. At 31, he is a dedicated juicer who can put away a bottle of Stolichnaya a night and a gun-wielding roisterer. He is also an attentive father and melancholic composer

who works in fits and starts in the short hours before dawn, turning out his strange songs and working occasionally on “my long-boasted-about but seldom-heard symphony”—all on the Steinway concert grand that stands in the living room of his modest Los Angeles house. Zevon seems to be living out a myth of ruined romantic excess that is both self-perpetuating and self-destructive. “F. Scott Fitzevon,” some friends call him. Jokes his mentor, Jackson Browne, best of all the Los Angeles-based singer-songwriters, who has taken a strong hand in the production of both Zevon albums: “There’s part of Warren that nobody can take credit for except Warren—and that’s the part that scares the hell out of all of us.”

“Sometimes he’s the most normal person I know,” confides Zevon’s wife Crystal, 28. “And sometimes he’s totally crazy. He’s always nice with me and the baby, but every now and then he’ll just decide to do something—like fall down a flight of stairs. I usually laugh. He’s pretty humorous.” Even Crystal confesses to being a touch “terrified” now that Warren has invested in a .44 Magnum. Recently, Zevon was so enjoying brandishing the weapon as he ran around his house wearing a duck mask that friends had to corner and disarm him. “In the ‘60s,” Zevon explains, “I couldn’t have conceived of owning a gun. Now in the ‘70s, I feel that nobody’s going to mess with me. You go from mindlessly believing in peace to arming yourself to learn how to hit it.”

There is as much put-on as defiance in such a posture, much striving after the long shadow of one’s own legend. Zevon is shrewd enough not only to realize this but also to acknowledge it, both in his songs (one hell-raising rocker is called *I’ll Sleep When I’m Dead*) and in casual conversation. “The fundamental idea that everything’s going to be all right appeals to me less than the simple notion of bone-head justice,” Zevon told TIME’s correspondent James Willwerth.

“The concept of Clint Eastwood as the justice-beats-dope is more important than Richard Dreyfuss as the awestruck moron being carted off to Mars where everything will be just fine.”

To Zevon, the patented Eastwood brand of low-blow violence and poker-faced absurdity may seem as natural as a song. His father, a Russian immigrant, was a one-time boxer who made his living as a professional card player. When William Zevon wanted to marry Warren’s mother, the impending union caused a family crisis that became, 18 years later, the subject of their only son’s most

## Music

autobiographical song, *Mama Couldn't Be Persuaded*:

*She was determined that she wanted Bill . . .  
Her parents warned her  
Tried to reason with her  
Never kept their disappointment hid  
They all went to pieces when the bad luck hit  
Stuck in the middle  
I was the kid*

The family eventually wound up in California, where they lived in towns all up and down the southern coast. Warren had a music teacher who contrived to introduce the young student to Stravinsky (an album autographed by the master is Warren's "most prized possession"). But the influence of the great composer during Warren's subsequent visits to see him in his home above Sunset Boulevard was supplemented by a rough-and-tumble education at high school. Warren quit when he was 15, around the time his parents split up. He tried living with his father for a while, a difficult situation since Bill "kept moving to a new apartment every few weeks." Warren then headed for New York, taking an unsuccessful shot at "being Bob Dylan."

After a time, Warren drifted back to Los Angeles, scuttled around the fringes of the pop world. He wrote advertising jingles, played piano for the Everly Brothers ("the little Suzie" who gets mangled by the excitable boy is a wry nod at them), got a song onto the sound track of *Midnight Cowboy* and made one album called *Wanted Dead or Alive* that attracted scant attention. Eventually he met up with Crystal, and took off to Spain, where he sang for his supper in a Costa Brava saloon run by a soldier of fortune named David Lindell (co-author of *Roland*). Lindell held Zevon's wages in escrow, in case of either dire need or sudden good fortune. Jackson Browne, who had got friendly with Zevon back in Hollywood, wrote him in care of the Dubliner Bar inviting him to return stateside and cut a record. Warren blew the escrow account to get halfway home; a gig in London with the Everly Brothers provided the final funding.

If the rest is history, much of it is yet to come. Zevon, who has just embarked on a modest concert tour, will be keeping an eye on the sales figures for *Excitable Boy* to see if the commercial returns are as strong as the critical ones have been so far. One thing that is certain right now is that Warren Zevon can run with fast company. Randy Newman, Jackson Browne, Bruce Springsteen, Paul Simon . . . he is as good as the best, can match their pace. Maybe, if he goes on growing, he can even set the pace. Just one question lingers: Can he sustain it? He is such an excitable boy.

—Jay Cocks



*Le Figaro's* publisher, and Gaullist candidate for Neuilly, in his Paris office

## Press

### Citoyen Hersant

*Front-page electioneering*

A politically ambitious publisher with an unsavory past buys the *New York Times* and uses its front pages to win the upcoming election for the Administration and himself. It can't happen here, perhaps, though William Randolph Hearst did use his chain of dailies in an unsuccessful attempt to win the 1904 Democratic presidential nomination. It could happen this month in France, where a Hearstian press lord named Robert Hersant is marshaling his paper's political coverage to help the ruling center-right coalition in the March parliamentary elections, and to help keep himself in the National Assembly as well.

Hersant, whose dozen dailies reach one of every five French readers, has become a major power in French politics with his 1975 takeover of *Le Figaro* (circ. 222,900), Paris' largest morning paper. A studiously centrist bible of the bourgeoisie for its first 150 years, *Figaro* has under Hersant become blatantly conservative. The publisher took personal charge of *Figaro's* pre-election coverage, which omitted any mention of his assembly district opponent—even when the paper carried a rundown of every major party candidate—until an outcry in other papers forced *Figaro* to relent. Last month Hersant invited 2,000 *Figaro* subscribers in Neuilly, the Paris suburb he wants to represent in the assembly, to a lavish champagne buffet. In protest against Hersant's abuse of *Figaro*, Raymond Aron and Jean D'Ormesson, two pillars of the French intellectual establishment, resigned as top editors of the paper and criticized the publisher in print.

The scourge of Neuilly was born 58 years ago near Nantes. He went to Paris during World War II and was jailed briefly for ration-law violations and collaborationist activities, offenses for which he was later banned from holding office or owning any publication. Amnestied in 1952, he built an automotive magazine into a press empire that now embraces 27 publications. Hersant's purchase of *Figaro* and, in 1976, of *France Soir* (circ. 443,100), Paris' largest afternoon daily, doubled the size of his holdings. It has been widely reported that leading right-of-center politicians, including former Premier Jacques Chirac and National Assembly President Edgar Faure, helped arrange the sales to keep the papers firmly in the hands of the governing camp. Whatever happened, Hersant has become the majority's most important daily journalistic defender, and all the coalition partners have supported his attempt to unseat a fellow Gaullist in Neuilly.

Hersant has held an assembly seat from the Oise region just north of Paris since the 1950s, though a 1976 study by the newsmagazine *Le Point* found him to be the least effective of 228 majority members of the legislature. His Oise constituency's steady march leftward prompted Hersant to seek election this time from solidly conservative Neuilly. The incumbent, Gaullist Florence d'Harcourt, was expected to drop out of the race.

She did not. Most of the non-Hersant papers in Paris favor her, and she has been waging a vigorous shoestring campaign with personal letters to voters. Despite Hersant's superior financial and propaganda assets, late polls show D'Harcourt running slightly ahead of Hersant. Many French journalists still hope that after the elections they too will be able to say, it can't happen here.

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